

Global Justice Awareness?
The Journey Towards Transformational Learning
through International Volunteering

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PREFACE

The process of pursuing a PhD for me has been a difficult journey, which began in New Zealand and ended back home in the US. I moved to New Zealand with the hopes and desires of pursuing a world-class education while also exploring and learning about a new country. As this thesis aimed to explore the lives of those who spent time in foreign places and how they made meaning of their experiences beyond their own homes and in new cultures, I believed that pursuing a PhD in a place far from home was the best choice for me. It is funny how sometimes we make plans, and then life happens outside of those neat and tidy plans. In February 2011, the forces of nature literally tore apart one of the most charming cities in the world (Christchurch, NZ), where I was currently living and studying. After the Canterbury earthquakes, I opted to withdraw from the PhD program, having been in Christchurch for nearly two years at that point, and return to the US. The decision to leave was difficult. I knew that leaving the program in hopes of later returning to the process of writing and finishing a thesis, after taking time away from it, would be extremely difficult. However, I did not realize that it would become the most difficult endeavor of my adult life thus far.

In addition to the Canterbury earthquakes, another factor played a role in my decision to leave New Zealand. The irony is that this factor paradoxically became my motivating factor to finish my PhD. On 25 October 2010, I received word that my best friend from my undergraduate studies, Praise Goh, had become suddenly ill at the young age of 28, and had died on that day from unknown causes. She was a person so full of life that it was infectious with whomever she came in contact. Anyone around her would be overcome with joy and positivity. Not only did she embrace life vigorously in everything she set her mind to, but her passion for social justice in the developing world was so strong that she pursued a Master's degree specifically in social

justice in developing nations. In fact, Praise was the one who inspired me to undergo my first overseas experience to Thailand in a volunteer capacity. When she died suddenly, my world was shattered and being so far away from the US only exacerbated the situation. Shortly after her memorial service, I decided that no matter when I finished the thesis, I would dedicate it to her and honor her passion for global social justice and the developing world. Now that I am finishing my PhD, I am reminded again of the brevity of life. The difference she made in so many lives can only be grounded in a deep sense of responsibility and compassionate care. Since this thesis is about those who engage in volunteer work abroad and those who often have a passion to see a more global social justice, it is only appropriate that this thesis be in remembrance of her.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In light of the preface, the pursuit of a PhD has been a personally challenging one. It is an understatement to say that this process is lonely; one where I had to grow into a painful comfort of my own solitude. Henri Nouwen, a Dutch Catholic priest who devoted his life to social justice, discussed the importance of discovering and accepting the quiet solitude in each of us. He emphasized that if we fail to find this lonely place, or a quiet center, our lives can become destructive. For me, finding this lonely quiet place was excruciating, and called me to question the core of who I am. Having reached the part where I see the light at the end of the tunnel, I began to realize why this quiet center is so vital, and have come to appreciate the lonely comfort of my own solitude. By that same token, there were some outstanding individuals that stood underneath me and next to me during the pursuit of this thesis, and a select few who even sat with me in this quiet and lonely place. Nouwen (1974, p.67) said, “The friend who can be silent with us in a moment of despair or confusion, who can stay with us in an hour of grief... that is a friend who cares.” This section is dedicated to those who have exemplified this.

I am immensely grateful for the many people who have helped directly and indirectly with the research process:

During my time in Christchurch, Dr. Nabila Jaber and Dr. Ruth McManus provided support and the right amount of critical prodding. After I left Christchurch and moved back to the US, Dr. Ruth McManus continually reached out to me and reminded me of the work I had begun and not to forget it. I am forever indebted to her for her support and encouragement when I thought the completion of this thesis was not possible. Marcia Baxter Magolda (2004 p.xxii) described self-authorship as “the capacity to internally define a coherent belief system and identity that coordinates engagement in mutual relations with the larger world.” What self-

authorship means to me is essentially the assistance required to help me find my voice in the process of writing a thesis. Dr. McManus did this. By guiding me along the path of self-authorship, she has given me the tools necessary in order that I may shape myself into a more refined researcher. After Dr. Jaber retired, Dr. Alison Loveridge stepped in to provide much-needed insight and a critical eye to help take the thesis to the next level. I am very grateful for the many hours she has toiled in responding to all of my questions and concerns. The time and energy she spent asking the hard questions that I needed to answer was monumentally helpful.

Two other individuals throughout this process who have continually sat next to me in this quiet solitude are my sister, April Perry, and my brother in law, Lane Perry. In fact, if it was not for them, I am not sure I would have pursued a PhD outside the US, as they were the ones living in Christchurch a year before my arrival and encouraged me to come join them on their PhD journeys. For the nearly two years I lived in Christchurch, I lived with April and Lane. Not only did we all cook together, eat together, walk the dog together, but we would engage in meaningful dialogue about the PhD process and about what we were learning. They provided an avenue for me to be myself and express the frustrations we could all relate to about the process of writing a thesis. More specifically, they provided a moral compass and proved to be outstanding role models who stayed in Christchurch even after the earthquakes to engage in the volunteer army to begin to rebuild the city and finish their theses. I will forever be indebted to their hospitality and generosity. Even after I returned to the US, just as Ruth, they both encouraged me to finish the work I had begun. Now that they are back in the US with the most beautiful child, Prescott, they have pushed and encouraged me to never give up. Had I not had them alongside me during this process, I doubt I would have been able to complete it.

I must acknowledge all the research participants who made this research possible, and made the data collection phase arguably the most exciting part of the thesis process because I felt at home in the field in Tanzania interviewing volunteers. I must give a special thanks to Chiraphone for allowing me access to survey 250 student volunteers and a special thanks to Rustic Pathways, who allowed me to be a part of their organization as a volunteer coordinator while also collecting data in Tanzania. This research was truly made possible by them.

I am immensely grateful for those who offered personal support:

My family:

My mother, Kim Atkinson, who was very instrumental in helping with final grammatical edits. She was one of the very few who always asked me how my writing was coming along and would send me videos of my niece to encourage a sense of clarity and focus. My father, Art, and step-mother, Kathryn, who have offered so much support and love via emails, texts, visits, and funds. Thank you to Bill Webb and also to Aunt Mary Webb, who completed her PhD after a great length of time, and was instrumental in reminding me that it is possible and encouraged me to get back up and finish. To Grandma (Maurine Atkinson), my only living grandparent who is the sweetest and most gracious person I know. To the Robbins and the rest of my extended family, thank you for your love and support these 6 + years as, and a special thanks to my maternal grandmother, who died just weeks before I moved to New Zealand. She always believed in me and encouraged me to be great in everything I put my mind to.

My mentors:

To the colleagues and mentors who have inspired me to pursue a PhD back when I was a 20-year-old undergraduate: Dr. Monica Ganas and Dr. Carrie Peirce. Dr. Peirce was my human diversity professor – the first sociology course I ever took, which forever impacted my desire and

love to ultimately pursue a PhD in sociology. To Phil Shahbaz and Joy Hoffman, two of the greatest student development professionals who role-modeled what true grace means.

My friends:

To the ones in New Zealand who put up with the “crazy American,” but took me in when I had no friends and felt alone in a foreign country (Nic, Tony, Akira, Aaron, Joe, and Mark). To the lifelong friends in the US such as Kerry Gallagher and Jill Warhol, who inspired me to keep finishing, not to give up, and know me well enough to sit in the quietness with me. To all my new friends in San Diego, California who have become my new family and who might have never believed that I would actually complete this PhD because they have seen me at my worst and still love me. Special thanks are extended to my roommates who have dealt with my long, grumpy, and restless nights and periods of crankiness and absenteeism. Thank you for bearing with me during a time of my life I felt I was barely surviving. And lastly, a special thanks to Lestats, the coffee shop in San Diego where I spent easily 20-25 hours a week from March 2014-February 2017, several nights staying there until the sun came up the next morning. It feels like a part of my heart (and brain) has been left in those walls, and it will always be the place where I accomplished my best writing.

ABSTRACT

The opportunity to engage in international volunteering (IV) is a markedly privileged one that this thesis explores through the consideration of a complex range of factors and influences from the global to the personal in an effort to understand how volunteers make meaning of their experiences. IV encompasses a large range of organizations, many of which market volunteering abroad as a mutually beneficial experience for both the volunteer and the host community receiving the volunteers. Links to neocolonialism and neoliberalism, however, have illuminated ethical concerns about how transformation is experienced if host communities are used for the benefit of volunteers. This thesis undertook a mixed methods approach and analysis of three groups of volunteers: those who are currently volunteering, those who have recently returned, and those who have volunteered in years past. Through in-depth interviews and an open-ended survey, this thesis identified four phases of transformation that suggest IV can foster an awareness about global in/justice and that critical self-reflection plays a significant role. Using Mezirow's theory of transformational learning compliments Bourdieu's concept of habitus and embodied experience, which implies that volunteers need to be aware of their own habitus, recognizing they may contribute to both systems of injustice and justice. Using this theoretical strategy generated an account of IV as a doubled-edged sword, which signals that there is tension between personal transformation and social justice. Studying IV within a sociological context can contribute to knowledge about how IV programs are situated within a framework of service, influenced by tourism and development, and how they could be better operated within this framework to better foster volunteers' awareness of inequality and global justice.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Overview of International Volunteering (IV)

The opportunity to volunteer internationally is a markedly privileged one that beckons an exploration of a complex range of factors and influences from the global to the personal. In this thesis, international volunteering (IV), as it is related to personal transformation and global justice awareness, is explicitly explored in an effort to understand how volunteers make meaning of their experiences abroad. These experiences can vary for each participant based on the type of organization they volunteer with, their motivation or mindset for participation, and the location of volunteering. Taking these factors into account, this thesis examines the complexities of international volunteering as an evolving and multi-faceted field so as to address questions and concerns that have been raised about how volunteers' transformation is experienced.

One complexity of IV is the way that many volunteer programs combine volunteering with tourism. This combination has become commonly known as 'voluntourism' and is an "alternative form of tourism in which tourists spend time volunteering as part of their vacation in a developing country" (Sin, 2009, p.480). Wearing (2001, p.1) defines volunteer tourists as "those who volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that may involve the aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment." McGloin and Georgeou (2015, p.3) define voluntourism as "an economic activity driven by profit occurring within an unregulated industry and operating without any accreditation process. Monies are paid to a tour operator whose business is based in the global North and who profits from sending others to developing countries and communities." These definitions reflect some of the perspectives that have come to uniquely reflect voluntourism specifically.

McGloin and Georgeou (2015) further suggest that voluntourism should be distinguished from volunteering for development, but recognize their similarities. “Rather than create a false binary, it is perhaps more useful to view the two activities as operating within different paradigms; voluntourism with the market, and development volunteering within civil society” (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015, p.3). In light of this, the complexity of the distinctions of IV becomes muddled, especially because participants in this thesis reflect both paradigm suggestions. In addition, other thesis participants (discussed later) did not fit neatly into either paradigm, further indicating the complex diversity of IV programs and volunteers.

While voluntourism can be said to meet at the intersection of service and tourism, IV has historically been situated within the framework of development in the last half of the 20th Century (Lough, 2015). Following McGloin and Georgeou’s (2015) above-mentioned paradigms, however, it becomes clear that volunteering in terms of voluntourism has largely shifted away from the historic notion of development even if it may still be linked through the implementation of smaller developmentally related projects. While the length of stay abroad is generally an indicator to distinguish between voluntourists and other volunteers, attempting to classify them can be problematic and not as simple as it appears (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015). Furthermore, attempting to classify them by the work they do in a specific host community may also ‘muddy the waters,’ as some generally unskilled voluntourists may engage in projects that are tied to a larger or long-term development agenda (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015).

All of this complexity means, however, that it is possible for IV to emerge at different intersections, and given this, how volunteers make meaning of their unique experiences abroad in relation to their understanding of global in/justice, and subsequently, their own personal transformation is explicitly what this thesis explores.

In consideration of this, it is necessary to underscore that this thesis is more focused on elements of service in IV as opposed to an explicit focus on voluntourism or volunteering for development. This is emphasized to reflect how the notion of service may emerge differently in varied IV opportunities and also because most of the participants in this thesis identified strongly with service-oriented motivations as opposed to tourism, leisure, or development motivations. While this is unpacked in greater detail later, it is stated here because the notion of service is the predominant framework used in this thesis, and also how I have come to view and understand IV. Mostafanezhad (2014) provides an example of research she conducted in Thailand where she discovered that volunteers did not like being called ‘voluntourists.’ This example is highlighted because it is believed that the majority of the participants in this thesis may not prefer to be referred to as voluntourists. Regardless of the emphasis of each IV program, the recognition of the integral role that both tourism and service (and to an extent, development) can play is necessary, while also recognizing that even if volunteers do not see themselves as tourists, they may still be perceived this way by others. For the sake of clarity in this thesis, ‘IV’ is meant to reflect the larger encompassing structure of many international volunteering opportunities.

In recent years, travel as a means of education or experiential learning has trended upwards, especially within the context of higher education. For example, in the US alone, participation in outbound programs increased from 51.4% in 2004/05 to 62.1% in 2013/14 (Institute for International Education, 2015). In addition to educational travel, students who have participated in programs where no academic credit was received totaled 22,181 in 2013/14 (Institute for International Education, 2015). These kinds of numbers and trends indicate a shift in the way travel has evolved to include a wide scope of interests for individuals who use travel in various ways.

International volunteering has also trended upwards and is considered by some as “sustainable, pro-poor, and mutually beneficial for both tourists and host communities” (Callanan & Thomas, 2005 p.185), although Sin (2009) emphasizes a shortage of academic literature which critically examines the multi-faceted aspects of IV. In terms of service or explicitly volunteer work, Brown (2005) highlights that while research has increased, most discuss the motivations for volunteering, emphasizing that these experiences might be referred to as a type of ‘mission trip.’ Alongside the emergence of IV programs, global service-learning (GSL), has also emerged within the context of higher education (Hartman & Kiely, 2014). IV and GSL share many features, but are distinct because IV programs may operate outside higher education, whereas GSL generally refers to programs within higher education, which can imply specific learning outcomes. This distinction is also emphasized upfront because one sample group of participants in this thesis were engaged in their university’s GSL program.

Although estimates of the growth of international volunteering are difficult to find and measure, Benson & Wearing (2012) cite Mintel’s 2008 estimate of voluntourism at USD \$150 million in terms of market value. Given the growing market demand and how it has arguably evolved to become a commodity, the need to explore the ways that volunteers process and understand their experiences in the spaces in which they have been undertaken them is necessary in order to understand broader social structures.

Literature, specifically on voluntourism, has “predominantly been written from 2000 onwards,” and much of it initially pointed to the qualities or aspirations of participants and organizations (Benson & Wearing, 2012, p.242). Qualities and aspirations imply that voluntourism is an inherently noble practice in that it benefits both the volunteer (on a personal growth and development level), and benefits the host community (on a practical or economic

development level). The debates, however, over the validity of this perspective have increased in recent years as concerns related to the ethics of these programs have grown.

In terms of personal transformational experiences, the concerns with IV also need exploration because if volunteers are undergoing personal transformation at the expense of the host community, and these concerns are not being addressed, it can position IV problematically. Broadly speaking, the concerns about IV programs are that they may be unjust, and in some cases, an unethical practice, which may not achieve the laudable aspirations that they often tout. Understanding how volunteers have come to frame and reconcile their experiences can point toward the ways personal transformation may or may not be occurring and toward volunteers' understanding of the geo-cultural and sociopolitical landscape.

In addition to understanding how transformation is experienced, global injustice and global inequality have sparked the attention of some individuals and organizations and have given rise to the Global Justice Movement (GJM)¹. As Western consumers become more aware, for example, of larger transnational corporations that may practice unethical or questionable operations in developing nations, they may be more likely to engage in IV. This interest in global justice may reflect the ways in which a sense of individual responsibility may be emerging, partly spurred on by the rise of the information age and influence of the media. Exposing these issues has garnered global support and has subsequently inspired some to assist in seeking out justice in their own ways (Lough, 2015). Given this inspiration, some volunteers may altruistically seek out volunteering as an avenue to help others they perceive are in need of help. Since volunteers are unlikely to contribute to justice or change on a structural or political level

¹ Della Porta et al. (2006) suggests the GJM has become a network of globalized social movements that are opposing corporate globalization and is focused on equity, specifically as it pertains to the distribution of economic resources.

(Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011), signing up to volunteer in the name of justice could speak to the naivety of some of the volunteers or sending organizations.

Cross Cultural Solutions is one example of a sending organization whose slogan is “Volunteer Abroad. Change Their World. Change Yours. This Changes Everything” (Cross Cultural Solutions website, retrieved 20 January 2016). Many sending organizations like this exist across the UK, US, Canada, Australia, and other developed nations and attract altruistic secondary and university-aged students. These organizations are mostly comprised of businesses, religious organizations, and NGOs who may inspire volunteers to engage with the ideology of ‘making a difference’ through the implementation of small projects that may resemble development projects, such as building a classroom (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015). Although this thesis is not an exploration of the many diverse sending organizations that utilize volunteers, it is necessary to emphasize the crucial role they play as the liaison between volunteers and host communities. “Voluntourism companies sell a ‘development experience’ to consumers by appealing to their desire to ‘make a difference’” (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015, p.5).

In addition to providing volunteers with opportunities to engage in development-related projects and an up-close and personal experience with a host community, some provide an opportunity to partake in sightseeing or tourist activities. This is where the lines between service, tourism, and development can become blurry. Each sending organization and, to an extent, each volunteer may have their own ideas and expectations of how their experience should occur at this unique intersection. This is why this thesis also explores the role and influence of the social imaginary (or volunteer imaginary), and how these imaginaries play out and can influence volunteers’ ideas and expectations. Volunteers undoubtedly bring their imaginaries or expectations with them abroad and into the host community. According to Salazar and Graburn,

it is no easy task to study imaginaries: “By their very nature, imaginaries remain intangible, so the only way to study them is by focusing on the multiple conduits through which they pass and become visible” (Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p.2). According to Said (1993), social imaginaries can also be tied to geographic spaces, meaning that volunteers may imagine or romanticize about what their experience should be like abroad interacting with a host community.

While these ideas are discussed later, it is necessary to introduce how a desire for a global consciousness may be tied to an individual’s national identity and imagination of global citizenship in revealing the power that imaginaries can have over physical or geographic spaces, and how this may play out in IV. Although Said’s (1993) conceptual explanation of imaginaries primarily focuses on geography while Salazar’s and Graburn’s (2014) focuses on tourism, they are both helpful in this thesis to illuminate motivations to participate in IV. For example, volunteers traveling to West Africa to engage in IV may have an imagination of working in a remote tropical village with dirt roads and no electricity or running water. This may be appealing in an exotic sense as an exploration of the exotic Other. Although it may be defined in various ways, for this thesis, the Other refers to the recognition of foreign aspects of someone or some people in terms of how they are different than the volunteer. More explicitly, the Other or a sense of Otherness is meant to allude to some degree of the unknown, and how this may be perceived as interesting or exotic, further contributing to the volunteer imaginary.

Additionally, given that the exploration of personal transformation is an integral concept for this thesis, the volunteer imaginary needs to be considered in order to understand how volunteers make meaning of IV and how they may understand their own process of transformation. Understanding how volunteers expect their ‘volunteering’ experience to occur is helpful because it signposts in part towards the ways volunteers explore a sense of Otherness. As

volunteers may genuinely seek a way to be of service to a host community ‘off the beaten path’ of traditional tourism, the curiosity about Otherness in terms of foreignness plays a role in the volunteer imaginary. This desire can point to possible power structures in the volunteer imaginary. Within the context of tourism, Salazar and Graburn (2014, p.17) emphasize:

The failure of both those studying tourism and those working in tourism to understand how imaginaries are embedded within local, national, regional, and global institutions of power restricts their ability to determine the underlying forces that restrict some tourism practices and not others, some imaginings and not others, and that make possible new hegemonies in new fields of power.

If this failure in tourism is transferable in IV, then it follows that IV will also fail to see the forces of power, which shape the geo-cultural and sociopolitical landscape. This may, subsequently, impact how volunteers come to make meaning of their experience and to what extent they may or may not experience personal transformation.

With the concept of unequal power structures in mind, this thesis also explores how some forms of IV have been connected with neocolonial practices in the sense that IV may place the ‘rich and developed’ volunteer in a position of power over the ‘poor and developing’ host community, similarly to the way the colonizers were in a position of power over those being colonized. In a similar vein, this thesis also explores how the rise of globalization and a neoliberal ideology (the reduction of government-regulated markets including the rise of global capitalism on an international level (Hertz, 2001), have arguably assisted to enable the expansion and growth of IV. In this light, it is necessary to explore the role IV within the field of tourism as a commodity as this can illuminate the tensions between what may be considered genuine voluntary service and tourism. In the exploration of this tension, unequal power structures are further revealed, which adds another layer of complexity to IV since both volunteering and tourism have become closely marketed by organizations and, subsequently, intertwined. As such,

many Western volunteers with a sense of adventure, who want to engage in tourism, may simultaneously and altruistically desire to engage in volunteer work in an effort to benefit a host community.

Regardless of what kind of sending organization volunteers choose to associate with, each of these organizations has become partnered, to some degree, with a host community. Through this partnership, sending organizations work with host communities to develop service projects for volunteers. For instance, on one hand, some organizations specialize in projects like bringing clean water to remote villages through the construction of wells (see for example, Podvolunteer and Habitat for Humanity). These agencies solicit volunteers from the West to help build wells while also engaging in a cultural experience. On the other hand, religious organizations may solicit volunteers with the purpose of evangelism (see for example, The Navigators). Other organizations are both project-driven as well as evangelistic, providing another tailored opportunity for IV, signifying the myriad types of organizations that operate under varying motivations and assumptions. A few of these organizations are highlighted at the end of chapter two to provide an overview of how they operate and the volunteers they recruit.

The motivation of sending organizations is not always clear, which raises questions about the ethics of Western organizations using host communities as incubators so that Westerners may experience personal transformation. Concerns like these are central to the thesis and also help frame the meaning volunteers make. Since no central database exists to encompass all the international volunteer organizations (including the approaches or motivations they use), answers to some of these questions are unobtainable on a practical level. To provide a snapshot example, however, Kenya alone, which has attracted many volunteers and organizations in the last 50 years since its decolonization, has over 8,500 NGOs registered with the Kenyan National

Council of NGOs (National Council of NGOs website, retrieved 16 January 2016). While not all of these NGOs utilize Western volunteers, or are considered IV sending organizations, the number of NGOs operating projects in Kenya alone is staggering. Western volunteers who do work with these NGOs, for example, may be immersed to some degree in the larger global issues and debates around development, poverty, and human rights, for instance. Their exposure to and knowledge of such related issues may impact the ways they make meaning of their experience and how they may experience personal transformation.

Some of the current research into IV provides helpful insights, but is built on theoretical frameworks that are gazing from a distance (Butcher, 2006; Butcher, 2003; Butcher, 2011; Butcher & Smith, 2010). In light of this, it is necessary for this thesis to explore the meaning that volunteers make of such experiences in the spaces they are undertaken because having an understanding of what and how meaning-making occurs sheds light on hitherto unexamined aspects of personal transformation associated with IV. Using a more participatory and grounded theory approach, this thesis seeks to gain understanding of deeper and complex insights related to the IV experience about global in/justice awareness over time with three specific sample groups: those currently involved in IV, those recently returned, and those who participated in IV some time ago. A grounded theory methodological strategy allows for multiple and varying constructions of realities and meaning-making with attention to the voice of the participants (Glaser, 2010), which in turn can illuminate the ways they make meaning. Moreover, this methodological strategy allows the opportunity to engage with different types of participants at different moments of their IV experiences (during, immediately following, and afterwards).

In the spirit of illuminating the process of meaning-making, McGehee (2014) suggests that there is also need to further explore religious volunteer groups in terms of their unique

transformation, further highlighting the need for this research with a specific focus on transformation in the spaces it occurs. Approaching the exploration of IV through the lens of transformational learning illuminates how the unique intersection of tourism and service can both construct and obstruct a greater sense of awareness on different levels (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011). In turn, this thesis offers insight into the relationship and tension between the personal transformation of volunteers in terms of fostering awareness about global in/justice and gives way to a broader social dimension of the shifting culture of IV including how it is uniquely situated to highlight its multiple tendencies.

Motivation

The motivations for engaging in this topic are, in part, because of the personal connection I have to IV. In the case of social science research, an interest in a topic often stems from some connection the researcher has to the topic being researched. In the case of this thesis, the motivation to explore IV emerged out of my own personal experiences working both as a volunteer and as a volunteer coordinator. This section provides a relatively detailed account of my personal experience with IV including specific stepping-stones that took me down the path of IV, the ways I have experienced personal transformation in my own life, and the categories of transformation that this thesis adopts. Furthermore, it is helpful to share the integral role that IV has played in my life on a personal and professional level because my time as a volunteer or volunteer coordinator has come to influence the thoughts and opinions I have acquired towards the unique situatedness of IV. Understanding the multifaceted aspects related to IV related global justice issues, privilege, Western consumption, and poverty, for example, are driving motivations for a thesis such as this.

Volunteers can be any age, but my personal experiences have been with students or who are often altruistically eager to see change in their own lives and the lives of those in a host community. Volunteer coordinators handle the logistical details related to overseeing a team of international volunteers whilst also overseeing the service project(s) to be implemented in the host community. The volunteer coordinator typically spends as much time volunteering as the other volunteers, but has an added responsibility of guiding the volunteers through the entire process from the moment they arrive in the developing nation until they depart.

Through multiple IV experiences (Thailand, 2002; Chile, 2003; Mexico, 2003, 2006; Togo and Benin, 2004; Ecuador and Columbia, 2006; Ukraine and Turkey, 2007; Tanzania and Kenya, 2009, 2010, 2013; and Ghana, 2014), I have developed a critical eye. Reflection on my experiences has taught me to see three different categories of personal transformation, which are examined in this thesis: a personal transformation of hope, a personal transformation of discouragement, and no transformation. These categories I suggest are a central driver for the thesis as it is an exploration of personal transformation, and these categories I have identified reflect nuances related to personal transformation. It is appropriate to introduce the categories here because they frame the understanding of the process of transformation, which is woven throughout the thesis. Likewise, in order to understand the epistemological assumptions that I bring, and how these types of transformations surface throughout this thesis, it is necessary to expand on these three categories of transformation because they can help to frame the meaning-making process for volunteers in this thesis.

IV experiences that left deeply profound and a positive impact on my life are what I have labeled as a 'personal transformation of hope.' These were experiences through which I became aware of, and subsequently passionate about, IV as a tool to create awareness about global social

justice. In this light, a transformation of hope means that the volunteer was exposed to issues related to global justice because of their IV experience, and essentially valued IV as a means to become more aware and actively engaged in global social justice issues. In other words, this kind of transformation is where the volunteer believes they can be instrumental in creating change in spite of injustices; they believe they are doing the right thing for the right reasons.

IV experiences that left me feeling upset, angered, or confused, and wondering if my presence made any real impact in the host community is what I have labeled a ‘personal transformation of discouragement.’ These experiences left me discouraged or disheartened about global injustices doubting if justice would ever be served or if pressing problems in developing nations would ever be understood or solved. A transformation of discouragement is where the volunteer is exposed to global injustice but may reject the notions of IV as a means to become more aware and actively engaged in global justice issues. In other words, this kind of transformation is where the volunteer questions and doubts his or her ability to be an instrument of change. These kinds of experiences can be just as profound for the volunteer as a hopeful transformation because the volunteer may come to realize that even the act of volunteering may not be warranted as a just action. The key difference here, in transformational terms, is that the volunteer is generally unhopeful about IV as a means of aiding in global social justice issues.

IV experiences where volunteers return home relatively unchanged, so to speak, I have labeled ‘no transformation.’ While I personally have not identified with feeling no transformation at all, it is important to distinguish that these volunteers may exist. What distinguishes no transformation from the previous two categories of transformation is that both hopeful and discouraging transformations point to an increased global consciousness in which volunteers have a heightened sense of their own identity within a global social justice context.

While these concepts are explored further later, they are important to introduce here as they are linked to the meaning-making process.

Many factors contribute to a volunteer's process of transformation. A transformation of discouragement, for example, can overall be a positive experience because it may assist the volunteer in identifying some of the elements of IV that are not effective in terms of helping the host community. By that same token, IV experiences that produce a transformation of hope may actually be negative in the sense that the volunteer may not have fully engaged or critically reflected on the larger social structures which may perpetuate inequalities on the international level. In light of this explanation of my perceptions of transformation, it is appropriate to highlight some of my personal experiences and how I have come to make meaning of those.

The countries I visited, the training I underwent, and the conversations I had with host community members and other volunteers significantly influenced how I came to make meaning of a specific experience. Having felt a wide range of emotions such as gratitude, contentment, desire to change, homesickness, and confusion during my time as both a volunteer and volunteer coordinator, I thought it necessary to explore where these emotions and thoughts were situated, and this is where the process of reflexivity initially began. As I reflected further into my IV experiences as a volunteer, I questioned the nature of not only my IV experiences, but also IV experiences of others. Furthermore, I questioned if IV could be transformative in hopeful or discouraging ways for me, then perhaps other volunteers may be experiencing similar thoughts and emotions. I wondered if other international volunteers were critically considering the implications of their 'making a difference' and having similar doubts about IV.

Most of my IV experiences occurred in my 20s at an impressionable stage of life. The very protected and sheltered life I had as a child was vastly expanded when I arrived in Thailand

for the first time in 2002 and worked for a month with the International Justice Mission (IJM), an NGO which specializes in the relief of underage prostitution. This experience is imprinted in my mind, as it was the time I was first exposed to the concept of global injustice. What I mean by global injustice in this experience was related to the sex tourism and ‘industry workers,’ many of whom may be involuntarily participants. The injustice I perceived were individuals (from mostly wealthy developed countries) who traveled to Thailand to engage in the sex tourism industry with little regard for those with whom they engaged with. While there were many factors related to sex tourism, such as the economic contribution it made to the country of Thailand that I did not understand at that time, however, I could not move past the fact that some of the ‘industry workers’ were also minors. In one instance, our team of university students had the opportunity to meet with some ‘industry workers’ who had been rescued by IJM. The reality of global injustice on this kind of personal level played a large role in my transformation and desire to see people treated justly, specifically those who were exploited. These experiences motivated me to pursue volunteering further and what ultimately motivated my decision to write this thesis.

I was privileged in my 20s to be able to travel during the summer and participate in my university’s GSL program. It was during these experiences I began to question and to critically think about some of the larger structural issues of which I became aware. Having previously little understanding about international development, the influence of colonialism, or poverty, these issues were presented to me in a very real and tangible manner. For instance, I can recall my first time in West Africa in 2004 (Togo and Benin) when I was beginning to understand the influence of colonialism and, more specifically, the ties Togo and Benin still had to their former colonizer, France, even though decolonization had occurred 50 years prior. Almost everywhere our group traveled in these countries, we were treated with a level of dignity and respect that made me feel

uncomfortable. Our group of Westerners was given special privileges that were not warranted, such as better food (chicken) when the host community would eat fufu (the local cassava root-based food). Though this was partly due to the arrangements made for us by the host community, I could not help but wonder what role my identity contributed. During this time in West Africa, I frequently questioned my Western ‘developed’ identity and the privilege I held being white. Unaware of the fact that I was engaging in the process of reflexivity (introspection), I began to better understand the role my privilege played in West Africa through the ways our team was given preferential treatment. After realizing this, I began to keep a reflective journal as a way to reflect on issues I noticed related to inequality and global injustice. Many of the GSL programs I participated in via my university were partially designed to facilitate this outcome – to encourage critical thinking in order to increase their awareness of inequality and injustice.

My family of origin, the church I attended, and the schools I attended growing up held serving others in high regard. I participated in several city cleanups and assisted my mother from time to time in an event that provided weekend activities for children in low-income housing. The university I attended offered various opportunities to volunteer in Los Angeles and I was able to assist in programs such as The Foothill AIDS Foundation, A-town Kids, and Urban Plunge. These programs had strong roots in a service-learning foundation, in which volunteers are active participants in their own learning while also being of service to an organization.

As mentioned previously, Thailand had a profound impact on my life. The Thailand GSL experience was designed by the university to encourage students to think critically about global injustice specifically as it related to the sex tourism industry. During this GSL experience, we met with ex-patriots and locals living in Thailand working specifically in justice related organizations. The trip lasted a month and painted a vivid image of global injustice in Thailand.

As a team, we were encouraged to take what we had learned about injustice and become more aware of injustices around us back home in the US. This is when I became curious about global justice and more specifically, the role that the volunteer could play in global justice issues.

As a volunteer in Chile and Mexico, we taught English in local classrooms and worked with children through sports camps and arts and crafts. While we learned about some injustices, the purposes of these experiences were designed via cross-cultural engagement with locals through the practice of English/Spanish language skills.

In Togo and Benin, most of the service work was manual labor over the course of one summer (2004). We harvested food, cleared spaces in fields for future crops, and picked mangoes to be sold in town at the market. It was during this experience that I really began to question if my presence as a volunteer was making any real difference and questioned why I had come to Africa at all. For example, one of the projects we were commissioned to complete was to lay the concrete foundation of an orphanage to be built after we left. While this was the direct wish of the local organization responsible for building the orphanage, some concerns arose as to whether or not that organization would have the funding to complete the remaining construction of the orphanage after we left. This was emphasized by the fact that nearly all the construction supplies up to that point were purchased by us (the Westerners), and we wondered how any future construction would be completed after we left. Our concerns were further validated when we noticed unfinished buildings nearly everywhere we went in Togo. When I asked one of the locals why there were so many unfinished buildings, he informed me that many volunteer groups come in with grand ideas, but are unable to complete the projects before returning home and the structures remain incomplete due to lack of funding, resources, and time.

Similarly, I spoke with a frustrated group years later in Tanzania (in 2010) because the pumps installed by the previous volunteer group had malfunctioned. Since the pumps needed special parts for repair, the host community simply abandoned their new well and returned to the old routine of fetching water from a distant stream. Learning about these kinds of issues presented challenges for the volunteers (in Togo and Benin) that, in hindsight, were important because it allowed us to reflect on the effectiveness and sustainability of our service. Moreover, it opened the door to have in-depth discussions related to development, aid, the influence of colonialism in that region, and global justice. These kinds of discussions were often led by our volunteer coordinator, and encouraged us to think critically about these larger issues. Sometimes this dialogue and reflection led to feelings of confusion, frustration, and discouragement that did not always lead to a hopeful transformative set of experiences. One specific dialogue and reflection was about the role the slave trade had played in West Africa and these reflective conversations were an integral part of the process on the journey towards my own personal transformation. By the end of the summer, I had become very aware of the privilege I carried and also aware of how some of the locals viewed that privilege. As a result, many of us, including myself, became discouraged by the work in which we had engaged.

During graduate school, I was asked by the university to lead teams of 10-12 volunteers to Ecuador/Columbia (2006), Ukraine/Turkey (2007), and Mexico (2006). My responsibilities included preparing the volunteers mentally and emotionally to some level, itinerary and every logistical detail, including transportation and meals. It was a big responsibility and it took several months to plan. In fact, the process to be selected for these GSL teams is rather extensive. To briefly explain, the volunteer coordinators must have solidified dates for travel with contacts in the host community by 01 October. The locations for GSL are announced in late October and

students must submit an extensive essay-based application. If their application is accepted, they must then interview and enroll in a course, which is during the spring semester from January to May. The course is a one-credit course, which meets once a week for three hours.

During this time, the first hour is spent in lecture where varying guest speakers discuss important concepts about GSL, such as cultural sensitivity, servant leadership, or global injustice. Every volunteer is in the lecture for this hour. The following two hours are ‘team time,’ which is organized by the volunteer coordinator(s). Part of my role in this was to create a sort of co-curriculum, which went through an approval process designed with learning outcomes. I worked with a co-leader to develop a structured schedule so that we were efficiently and effectively planning the ‘team time.’ Some of these sessions included group-building activities, language lessons, and discussions about issues facing the host community. This team time is designed so that when teams depart in the summer, they have spent the past four months not only learning about the host community, but how they function together as a cohesive team.

As a result of these experiences in different nations as a volunteer coordinator, I was even more motivated to understand volunteers’ experiences. This motivation continued to grow because I realized that my role as a volunteer coordinator could ultimately help to shape what the volunteers learned and inspire their journey towards transformation. The university’s emphasis on service-learning (which is discussed further in the methods chapter, since I used a sample group from this university) is a significant component of the program, which emphasizes the volunteer’s personal transformation at its core. Following this model, I wanted to ensure the volunteers on my team learned as much as they possibly could with the hope that they may experience personal transformation. I recall being concerned that if I did not critically and strategically engineer the projects, logistics, and team discussions, then the volunteers might

return home no different than when they left. In some cases, volunteers may engage briefly with a host community on a short-term work project and return home without having fully engaged with issues related to global social in/justice. I wanted to avoid this outcome at all costs. Without the proper pedagogy, I understood that transformation of any kind may not occur, and I did not want the IV experiences I was coordinating to end as such. In light of this, I was motivated by my desire to see each volunteer on my team experience some kind of transformation, or in the least, learn something about themselves or the host community. I also wanted to know why volunteers chose to participate in IV and what volunteers hoped to take away with them from such an experience. This motivation continued to grow with each IV experience that I coordinated and cultivated my own desire to see others transformed.

During my time as a volunteer, I became aware of certain injustices, like the aforementioned sex trafficking in Thailand. In these moments, I was enveloped with passion to try and help some of the people who were victims of these injustices. For example, when I learned about sweatshops where clothing is manufactured on a large scale to be shipped to the West for consumers, I was offended, and disappointed in my own ignorance for not understanding that some of my clothes may have been manufactured unethically in sweatshops. In this example, I was turned on to the idea of global justice, which was a hopeful transformation in the sense that I believed I could make some small change by ceasing to purchase sweatshop-manufactured clothing. Although I understood that my discontinuation of purchasing clothing would not cease the unethical manufacturing of the clothing, if more people became aware of the unethical manufacturing, they may also change their behavior. I hung on the hope that if social justice stimulates a large enough number of people to cease to purchase unethically manufactured clothing that it might make a sustainable difference. While some may consider this

sense of hope naïve or an attempt for the privileged West to feel better about their privilege, I recognized the value in my newfound awareness. Furthermore, I recognized that, while I could not make structural or political change leading to the ban of unethical manufacturing of clothing, I could call to attention the individual roles in which we perpetuate injustice unknowingly. I stopped buying clothes unless I knew they were manufactured ethically and the workers were paid a fair wage.

To provide another example, when I realized how far some of the children in the host community in Tanzania had to walk to retrieve clean drinking water, especially when they should be in school, I was disappointed in myself and felt guilty at those times I took long showers simply to feel the warmth of the running water. Although my shortened shower time in my home in the West does not mean children in Tanzania will walk a shorter distance for clean water, what struck a chord was my increased awareness of my own sense of wastefulness. These types of feelings and moments of realization in my early 20s had a profound impact on my life, and were key influences in my own personal transformation.

I later came to understand that I was ashamed of my own sense of privilege and general wastefulness. As a North American, I became dismayed by mass consumerism, especially knowing that it might be at the cost of exploiting others in developing nations. In this light, my IV experiences were personally transformational in the sense that they fostered an awareness about global in/justice, and that IV could be an effective tool for this. Although not the case for every volunteer, my IV experiences impacted the way I carry out my daily life back home. I imagined that if others like me could learn about global in/justice via IV, then they might also make positive changes in their lives, and experience some level of personal transformation. Specifically, a transformation that may, in turn, influence their broader social practices and,

thereby improve the lives of others overseas. IV became an avenue for me to explore personal transformation and it is this avenue that forms the core inspiration of this thesis. In light of my background, motivation, views on transformation, and hope to see other volunteers transformed, it is appropriate to emphasize that my background in education and student development has played a significant role in guiding the ways I have approached and undertaken this research in this thesis, including how the aims of the thesis are explicitly addressed.

Thesis Aims, Objective, and Argument

The question this thesis asks is: how do international volunteers from developed societies make meaning (navigate, perceive, understand, and find significance) of global complexities related to global in/justice issues? And in the process of their meaning-making, how do they experience personal transformation? Therefore, the research objective of this thesis is to examine volunteers in their process of meaning making as it is related to their personal transformation. In consideration of this objective and thesis question, the thesis argues that IV is a personalized experience, which can contribute in varying ways towards a volunteer's understanding of global in/justice and the recognition that they may be part of the perpetuation of injustice. My argument then, is that as a personalized experience that can foster transformation about global justice awareness, IV engages with and contributes to debates not only on how challenging experiences impact one's sense of self or personal identity, but also on the capacity of IV to contribute to awareness about global in/justice. In terms of identity debates, my thesis shows ways in which volunteers' identities can be altered through a sense of confusion during IV encounters. In terms of IV's contribution to social justice, my thesis demonstrates ways in which these transformative experiences may be seen to influence personal understanding and agency in relation to the inequities that underpin the existence of IV. While their engagement with IV can create a sense

of confusion, this confusion can be taken as a sign of their journey towards personal transformation because it has the propensity to lead to greater awareness.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters that build the thesis argument. The first chapter outlines the researcher's motivations for the study, why the research is necessary, and the underpinning issues to identify the thesis question. The second chapter explores the relevant literature related to the contextual framework of international volunteering beginning with an historical account, macro-level influences, and situatedness. The third chapter explores the theoretical framework, introducing two guiding theorists, Pierre Bourdieu and Jack Mezirow, and discusses two debates about IV. Chapter four explains the overall research design, methods employed, and discusses the philosophical assumptions I have as a researcher. The reasons for taking a constructionist grounded theory approach are also explained in chapter four as well as the ethical issues related to the research. The fifth and sixth chapters present the findings of the research. Chapter five is a narrative that paints a picture of a day in the life of a volunteer, and what international volunteering actually looks like in the field. Chapter six presents the findings that emerged from the interviews and the survey, which are organized into the four emergent themes: desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness. The seventh chapter is my analyses of how the findings are related to existing sociological theories and international volunteering in terms of fostering awareness about global in/justice. This discussion explores the findings connected to personal transformational growth within IV, and how the findings respond to the debate discussed in the literature. In the eighth chapter, a brief overview of the research is provided with how I have addressed the thesis question followed by a discussion of the academic contribution of the thesis, and some suggestions for future volunteers and future research.

The meaning-making process and personal transformation of volunteers can be connected to a complex range of sociological issues and debates related to how volunteers engage with IV on different levels whether it be for service, tourism, or a development project, or something else (Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Mostafanezhad, 2014; Vrasti, 2013). As Lewis (2006, p.18) suggests:

As with research on the subject of volunteering more widely, there is a growing recognition among social science researchers and development practitioners that in the case of international volunteering the interactions involved are negotiated, multi-layered and complex to a quite surprising degree.

One way this complexity may also be reflected is through the popular phrase ‘think globally, act locally,’ which beckons one to consider how this may be carried out through the complex interactions that Lewis (2006) mentions above. In other words, the meaning volunteers make of the personal and social experience of IV has local and global as well as personal and sociological implications for debates on the effectiveness of IV in relation to aware of global in/justice.

Thesis Practical Limitations/Impact of the Canterbury Earthquakes

Firstly, time and resources limited this thesis. A comprehensive study of international volunteering or the many complex programs that it encompasses is beyond the scope of a PhD thesis. Secondly, international volunteers are in numerous nations across the world and reaching a substantial percentage of them is simply not feasible. Thirdly, the research is limited by the opinions of the participants as the aim of the thesis is to explore IV based on the interviews and surveys I was able to collect. While it can shed light on issues, concerns, and questions about IV and make signposts towards trends in future social science research, it is not designed to present conclusive nor comprehensive answers to the broader debates about IV. Furthermore, the reason the research was conducted in 2010 and it is now 2017 is primarily due to the Canterbury Earthquakes of February 2011. During this time, I was enrolled full time at the University of

Canterbury as a doctoral student. I opted to leave in May 2011 and return to the US, as I did not see living in Christchurch at that time as an appropriate place to conduct thesis work. I opted to take three years off, to find a job in US, and get settled in California before re-enrolling at the University of Canterbury.

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the topic of international volunteering including where it has become uniquely situated at the crossroads of service and tourism. It discusses the justification for the research through the emphasis on exploring deeper and more complex insights into the volunteer's personal experience within the spaces which those occur. This chapter also presented my personal motivations that underpin this thesis, including my previous background and experience with IV both personally and professionally. It also introduced the categories of transformation this thesis recognizes. The aims of the thesis were spelled out and the limitations were stated. The next chapter takes the first steps to elaborate the thesis question by outlining the contextual framework of IV through an historical account of its emergence and diversification and how it has come to be situated at a unique intersection.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The previous chapter identified the thesis topic, which is the exploration of how international volunteers from developed societies make meaning of their experiences abroad in terms of their understanding of complex global issues related to in/justice, and how this impacts their personal transformation. This chapter provides the contextual framework needed to explore the sociopolitical factors that paved the way for the emergence of IV, and discusses its evolution, diversification, and where it is currently situated. This exploration contextualizes the criticisms and concerns about IV (discussed in chapter three).

The first section focuses on the emergence of IV and begins by presenting an historical evolution of international volunteering, which highlights how IV evolved from a service-oriented foundation (generally associated with missionary or military work) to the development sector in the post-World War II era before becoming diversified as a ‘consumable’ part of the tourism industry. This historical evolution of IV underpins the thesis because the ways in which many current IV programs are framed and implemented reflects the ways in which this evolution has been influenced by the world’s sociopolitical and geo-cultural landscape.

The second section discusses macro level influences of this evolution and diversification. Given that much of international volunteering occurs in previously colonized nations, the first influence is the role of colonialism and how some forms of IV may be linked to neocolonialism. Following colonialism, the rise of globalization and the rise of a neoliberal ideology is discussed to reveal the ways IV has experienced ‘economic success.’ Lastly, the information age is discussed to reveal the ways IV has sometimes been justified as a moral practice.

The third and fourth sections of the chapter address the situatedness of IV first within service and then within tourism. This highlights a unique intersection that situates many current day IV programs that incorporate both volunteering and sightseeing. The situatedness of IV in service specifically explores the unique role of service-learning and GSL programs, which have been largely influenced within the context of US higher education. This is relevant for this thesis because of the ways service-learning has been connected to notions of personal transformation, experiential learning, and is used as a tool to focus on the development of the individual through community development engagement projects. The situatedness of IV in tourism addresses the presence of an economic exchange with an increasingly capitalist global economy to recognize the influence of a neoliberal ideology and to identify potential pitfalls of IV.

The chapter ends with a fourth section that provides a wide range of examples of international volunteering sending organizations as a way to illustrate the diversity of these organizations and contextualize how they have evolved to meet market demands.

An Historical Account of the Evolution of International Volunteering

An account of the history and evolution of volunteering abroad contributes to the contextual framework of IV as it lays the foundation of the sociopolitical and geo-cultural influences underpinning IV, which have impacted how it has come to be uniquely situated. The notion of persons from the developed world engaging as international volunteers in the developing world, found its roots in the early 20th Century (Lough, 2015). According to Quigley, (2013, p.143), prior to the early 1960s, most international travel was “confined to military service, a limited number of study abroad programs, and very few international service opportunities, most of which were administered by faith-based organizations.”

The historical emergence of IV can be traced back to 1909, when the British Red Cross, in conjunction with the Order of St. John, set up the Voluntary Aid Detachment scheme, which was designed to partner with other Red Cross organizations to work in the battlefields of Europe and the Middle East (Red Cross website, retrieved 21 January 2016). Although these volunteers primarily assisted the military with nursing and medical attention, the initiative opened the idea of using non-military persons for international volunteer purposes. Some decades after the idea of using volunteers emerged, their use became more established. According to Lough (2015), Service Civil International was established in 1934 to promote international understanding in addition to providing short-term work camps in the post-World War I era to help re-build parts of Europe. These camps slowly evolved into relief work in places like India in the 1930s and 1940s.

By the end of World War II, the development of less developed nations was seen as a priority among world leaders, and according to Williams (2012, p.14) many “institutional engineering” structures were put in place partially to assist in the advancement of development abroad. Institutions such as The United Nations, the Bretton Woods Conference, and the design of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank were prominent examples. According to Lough (2015), these government institutions tended to view development from a technical perspective with an emphasis on modernization. Lough (2015) argues that it was the establishment of these larger institutions that gave way to what he calls international volunteer cooperation organizations (IVCOs). Arce and Long (2000, p.5) mark this post-World War II period as the beginning of the “modern regime of discipline.” This is where developed societies wanted to facilitate global trade, and this required the integration of globally Southern societies in order to help them aim for development and a cultural modernity that more accurately reflected the West.

The words ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ evoke a feeling that the former is complete while the latter is incomplete, implying that developed societies are more powerful in the sense that they perceive they have already become developed. According to Lewis (2006), the discourse of which countries are more developed versus which countries are less developed, and assumptions about both, are being challenged as globalization progresses and research reveals the situation is more complex (Lewis & Mosse, 2006). It is increasingly clear that notions of developed vs. underdeveloped have been situated in a Western-centric discourse. For example, Mostafanezhad (2014) highlights how, in Nepalese society, the terms developed and underdeveloped did not exist previous to Western development. The classification of countries as developed or underdeveloped is most famously marked by US President Truman’s (1949) inaugural speech, "we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." Echoing Mostafanezhad’s point, Esteva (1992, p.7) emphasizes how US President Truman’s words classified much of the global South as underdeveloped.

On that day, two billion people became underdeveloped...from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all their diversity, and were transmogrified into an inverted mirror of other’s reality: a mirror that belittles them and sends them to the end of the queue, a mirror that defines their identity, which is really that of a heterogeneous and diverse majority, simply in the terms of a homogenizing and narrow minority.

In the broader social context that framed Truman’s rhetoric, helping underdeveloped nations modernize may have seemed to be a noble cause. According to Shilliam (2010), modernization is used to refer to the transitional process of moving ‘primitive’ communities to modern societies. Arce and Long (2000) discuss the ways in which modernity and modernization have been used to describe the influential role the idea of development has played in societies. To help differentiate between modernity and modernization Arce and Long (2000, p.2) explain:

We try, wherever possible, to differentiate clearly between modernity as a metaphor for new or emerging here and now materialities, meanings, and cultural styles seen in relation to the notion of some past state of things and modernization as a comprehensive package of technical and institutional measures aimed at wide-spread societal transformation and underpinned by neo-evolutionary theoretical narratives. Whereas modernity entails self-organizing and transforming practices in different strata and sectors of society, modernization is normally policy initiative undertaken and implemented by cosmopolitan administrative and technological elites.

Given this focus on modernization as a means of societal or civilization transformation, traditional notions of development can be linked to modernization theory, which was the dominant paradigm until the 1960s (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

The period following World War II and into the Cold War played a fundamental part in the shaping of soft diplomatic (not forceful) strategies. Since the decolonization of newly independent nations was at its peak during the 1950s and 1960s, development initiatives began to emerge when leaders such as Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt became concerned with how the colonial territories were being modernized in an era of mass decolonization (Arce & Long, 2000). As the US led Western Bloc and Russian led Eastern Bloc competed for access to and control of the newly established 'third world,' diplomatic tactics that focused on peaceful development began to emerge, some of which relied on volunteers.

The first formally recognized international volunteer and development program most likely can be traced to the University of Melbourne in Australia in 1951, called the Graduate Volunteer Scheme (Devereux, 2008). Many of these types of modern day programs were founded as a way to increase the sharing of technical information in developing nations as well as cross cultural exchange. In the case of the Graduate Volunteer Scheme, an Indonesian delegate inspired graduate students to come to newly independent Indonesia (1951) to share their technical knowledge and help train others. The Graduate Volunteer Scheme was a significant

step in the foundation of volunteering abroad programs because it occurred within the context of decolonization, as Indonesia was no longer under any European control.

Other examples include Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), which was established in the UK in 1958 (VSO website, retrieved 14 Jan 2017) and the Peace Corps in the US in 1961 (Peace Corps website, retrieved 20 Jan 2017). The Peace Corps was one strategic move of the US to gain access to certain countries to increase the presence of peaceful projects in the developing world. The mentality of the Peace Corps was to influence foreign nations with values related to its (US) individuality and ideals related to democracy and citizenship (Arce & Long, 2000).

The emergence of the US as a Western power post World War II assisted in building this self-interest around democracy and citizenship, with a strong national identity. For instance, by strategically seeking to influence the developing world in the name of democracy, the assertion of a particular set of US values and culture, stemming from free will ideals, becomes more apparent (Butcher & Smith, 2015). It could be argued the US's emergence in world politics post World War II assisted in the perceived opportunity to recreate the world for the benefit of all mankind. According to Hall (2007), this cultural ethos of manifest destiny was symbolic of the mentality during this time when idealism played a part in foreign policy initiatives in the US.

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the true motives or intentions of politicians and world leaders during the time of development, it is noteworthy that the cultural milieu of this time was influenced by Western notions of how to 'do development' in developing nations. Western social thought placed a higher value on capitalism as opposed to communism as a means of development (Butcher & Smith, 2015). The example of the Graduate Volunteer Scheme in Australia reflects the emphasis on a Western mentality of development, which may signpost towards a sense of unequal power structures in terms of who gets to 'do development.'

Western development initiatives such as the Peace Corps and VSO grew out of this cultural milieu. On 20 January 1961, President John F. Kennedy's well-known appeal during his inaugural address, "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country" underscored his administration's push and focus on service both locally and internationally (retrieved 20 January, 2017, jfklibrary.org). Regardless of whether programs such as the Peace Corps were being strategically used to combat communism or push the trade commerce, this famous quote also connotes notions of citizenship and national identity, which Said (1993) argues can influence how inequalities may be perpetuated between nations. For instance, notions of citizenship or national identity imply an allegiance to a specific state, and the Peace Corps in the US offered a way for volunteers to show their allegiance, which played a role in the cultural milieu of this time.

Prior to the Peace Corps, according to Lough (2015, p.1), many of the early volunteer programs were poorly sponsored, and relied on "private donors or were fundamentally university study-service programs." But by the mid 1960s, however, more government funding became available and opened further doors for voluntary programs to emerge. As funds were made available, volunteer opportunities began to attract volunteers primarily in the 18-25 age range (Lough, 2015). While many volunteer organizations were initially hesitant to involve primarily young volunteers in the work of development, they later came to rely on younger volunteers.

Over time, the idea of development shifted from a focus on the infrastructural and institutional to a focus on social structural and governance (Williams, 2012). This shift is partly because many large-scale development projects initiated by governments and international organizations had not secured appropriate funding and in many ways, failed to lift developing nations out of poverty (Lough, 2015). Beginning in the 1970s, the second decade of development

emerged, and it was during this time that “many smaller private and voluntary sector” (Lough, 2015, p.2), organizations began to grow. This means that NGOs and other similar development organizations, which relied on younger volunteers, needed to procure funding privately.

As the 1970s progressed, the cultural milieu of the Peace Corps days began to fade. Disillusionment with US politics influenced by events such as the Vietnam War, gave rise to a shift in ideology away from politics toward an emphasis on the self (Butcher & Smith, 2015). Accordingly, volunteer programs begin to change shape and focus to reflect this shift. The disenchantment with US values and US foreign policy created a drive for volunteers to be devoid of political ideologies. In other words, the social and political change, which framed the early foundation for international volunteering, had shifted, and by the late 1970s, social identities became “personal identities forged around private virtues” (Butcher & Smith, 2015, p.29). This ideological shift signposts to the structural adjustment policies² which emerged in the 1980s.

Giddens’ (1991) concept of life politics is helpful to explain this historical evolution of the cultural milieu, which is primarily a shift from the political to the personal. Life politics is founded in the notion that individuals become less interested in political issues and more interested in their individual identity. Butcher and Smith (2010, p.27) capture this concept well: “This ‘life politics’ revolves around individuals’ attempts to reposition themselves culturally in the context of their own lives and through this to try to act upon their immediate environment and also more broadly in the social and political realms.” A cultural shift to a focus on the personal suggests that volunteers are not primarily volunteering due to their political inclinations or affiliations, but rather volunteering in an “attempt to create morally justifiable lifestyles” (Butcher & Smith, 2010, p.30). In this way, the vacancy left by a stronger political ideology and

² Structural adjustment policies refer to the ways that policy was being shaped during this time which tended to focus on loans from the World Bank or IMF in order to repay commercial banks.

ethos allows and arguably positions volunteers to focus on their own personal journeys of self-exploration that aligns with their self-identified lifestyles. This mentality began to emerge in primarily youth who desired to engage in service abroad, which, combined with the gradual expansion of tourism, opened the door for modern IV programs to surface that place an emphasis on identity development.

In this spirit of volunteering as a way to develop the self, a cultural shift began to occur, which seemed to complement the changes occurring on the state level. By the 1980s, “neoliberal reforms led to a retrenchment in official development assistance” (Lough, 2015, p.2). Development, as it had been framed in the post-World War II and Cold War eras, was also shifting. While the rise of neoliberalism is discussed later, its historical significance is introduced here because its ideology has influenced development policy and government funding, and signals towards the diversification of some IV organizations. As some volunteer organizations and NGOs began to recognize the stagnant economic growth and prolonged poverty of developing nations, a new population of ‘development workers’ emerged which accompanied the way government funding began to shift in its reliance on volunteers (Lough, 2015).

While larger-scale development projects initiated by Western nations in the early days of development focused on bringing about infrastructure and modern technical assistance to the global South, the smaller volunteer organizations that emerged during the rise of a neoliberal ideology used private funding, which focused more on the volunteer’s personal experience and so ‘the self.’ Lough (2015) suggests that this shift reflected the cultural ethos of the time because “the importance of social impact became a topic of serious consideration by the development community—adding a new dimension to the earlier focus on economic impact” (Lough, 2015, p.1). Since notions of international volunteering began to diversify away from a traditionally

development-centered focus and, in some ways, became ‘adopted’ by tourism, traditional ideologies of using volunteers in development to aid the economic process of modernization in developing nations also began to fade.

In the 1980s, there were changes in how development was perceived. Mirroring the cultural emphasis on the self, the idea of development as a tool for modernization, industrialization, or infrastructure also shifted to an “interest in the role of civil society and citizen participation” (Lough, 2015, p.2). Higher education’s growing emphasis on global service-learning projects complemented the rise of the moral tourism industry, which emerged from of a wave of “alternative tourism niche markets that stood in opposition to mass tourism, beginning in the 1980s” (Callanan & Thomas, 2005, p.185). This evolution and diversification of IV was gradually recognized as valuable by governments, which allowed for continued expansion and experimentation of the capacity of IV programs, especially short-term programs (Lough, 2015). One example was the United Nations National volunteer program, which was launched in 1991 by the UN, and grew rapidly. By 2000, the Millennial Development Goals (MDGs) were established by the UN, and this in part is what propelled IV programs to focus on poverty reduction (Lough, 2015).

In order to grasp the range and diversity of this shift and growth, Callanan and Thomas “compiled a database of the main voluntourism industry categories from a large sample of voluntourism agencies and projects. Not surprisingly, they found that the top voluntourism destinations were mainly in the global South” (Callanan & Thomas, 2005, p.187). Also, in their database, Callanan and Thomas found that voluntourism activities could range from “building and community welfare projects, to teaching, business development, and environmental regeneration ventures” (Callanan & Thomas, 2005, p.192). Although the time frames ranged

anywhere from less than two weeks to more than six months, the main volunteer tourist age group was youth (ages 18-30), with about 30% being gap year students who are generally in between high school and university. One report from Tourism Research and Marketing (2008) estimated that an annual 1.6 million tourists participate in volunteer tourism annually. “Globally, the youth travel and tourism industry is growing, and higher education and volunteering represent the largest growth sectors” (Hartman, Paris, & Blanche-Cohen, 2014, p.108).

The growth in the higher education sector helps explain why many US universities organize IV opportunities for students as a way to engage them in service, cultural competency, and identity development (see for example, University of Missouri³, Cornell University⁴, the University of San Francisco⁵, and Stanford University⁶). These four universities are highlighted because their GSL programs specifically focus on voluntary service as a means to combine practical assistance to a host community with an emphasis on personal development. Programs like these arguably contribute to the emergence of the way other GSL and IV programs have evolved, centered on the experience of the participant in an effort to create meaningful and educational opportunities.

The rapid evolution of IV into a highly marketed program designed to mostly benefit the volunteer has received criticism further reflecting a sociopolitical shift more aligned with neoliberal ideologies. According to Hartman et al. (2014), one critique is the potential of IV to act as a new form of colonialism in the way it could create dependencies or in the way it may implicitly emphasize unequal power structures between host community and volunteers. Other criticisms emphasize the ethical dilemma related to the potential exploitation of host

³ <https://servicelearning.missouri.edu/global/>

⁴ <https://www.ilr.cornell.edu/academics/special-study-options/service-learning>

⁵ <https://www.usfca.edu/mccarthy/programs/privett-global-service-learning-program>

⁶ <https://haas.stanford.edu/students/start...service-stanford/service>

communities (see also for example Easterly, 2006; Grusky, 2000; Stoecker & Tryon, 2009; Tomazos & Butler, 2011). Hartman et al. (2014) argue that in spite of the criticisms of IV, the demand from developed nations to ‘make a difference’ in poor developing nations continues to increase. Part of this growth can be attributed to the rise of the Internet as an information source and a growing call for corporate social responsibility, both of which raise the profile of IV (Lough, 2015), and are discussed in the next section.

In consideration of these historical events and the evolution of international volunteer programs, it makes sense to say that many current ‘consumable’ IV programs grew out of a broader social response to self-discovery, identity, and personal transformation (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004). How IV has become diversified through this shift not only reflects the ideology of a global free market, but reflects a cultural shift from the political to the personal. To better explain this shift, it is necessary to explore some of the specific macro level sociopolitical or geo-cultural landscape.

Macro Level Forces

The macro level forces that have shaped and propelled IV are explored in this section. The word ‘force’ refers to the way in which these influences have been historical movements in the sense that they are not moments, but more ideologically driven. Beginning chronologically, the first force to consider is the historic role colonialism has played in much of the developing world, and how IV, in some ways, has come to be associated with neocolonialism. Secondly, the force of globalization is relevant because IV is arguably a product of economic and cultural globalization. The third force to be considered is a neoliberal ideology, which has arguably paved the way for the rapid growth of IV. Lastly, this section explores the influence of the

information age in the way that the media and access to information in a digital era has shaped the way volunteers come to engage with the ‘Other.’

Colonialism and Post-Colonial Theory

Historically, colonialism refers to those European authorities/governments who established their power by asserting their military conquest, culture, and policies in developing nations. At its peak in 1914, European powers controlled 85% of the surface of the earth through their colonies (Said, 1986). This assertion of predominantly Western culture has impacted on how the now decolonized nations have evolved and created tensions between developed and developing nations (Said, 1993). This tension can linger in the way that IV (predominantly Western) volunteers engage with host communities in nations in the global South, many of which were previously colonized. In consideration of this tension, this section examines the lingering impacts of colonialism in IV, and how the discourse of postcolonial theory can be useful to help contextualize IV.

In an effort to frame this contextual foundation, it is necessary to first distinguish between postcolonialism and postcolonial theory. Postcolonialism refers to the era that began simultaneously with the decolonization of the European empires, which began in the early 1950s and peaked in the 1960s (Childs & Williams, 1997). Postcolonial theory refers to a critical theoretical discourse of the era of postcolonialism that recognizes that the “historically proximate experience of colonialism has significant and continuing impacts on the political, economic, and social development of both the former colonizer and colonized” (Chiriyankandath, 2008, p.35).

The length of the postcolonial era ranges greatly depending upon what nation was colonized and when the colonizing nation withdrew. In terms of British decolonization, estimates range from 1947 to 1970. Regardless of when exactly the postcolonial era began, what is noteworthy is the way in which the colonizing nations retreated, while continuing to assert their

power in terms of political, economic, and cultural control (Childs & Williams, 1997). This notion of maintaining control means that as newly independent nations attempted to develop their own sense of national identity, the former colonizing nation's cultural imposition was still present. With this assertion of power still existing, it kept the colonized nation connected to the colonizing nation, further highlighting an unequal structure.

As a critical theoretical discourse, the purpose of postcolonial theory is to bring attention to the “legacies of colonialism and the structures of oppression that perpetuate colonial relationships between postcolonial geographies” (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p.504). Post-colonial theories highlight that these legacies are still present and can carry implications for volunteers who may be unaware of these historic structures and their lack of awareness could impact the meaning they make of their experience.

Postcolonial theory “formulates its critiques around the social histories, cultural differences, and political discriminations that are practiced and normalized by the legacy of colonial and imperial machineries” (Pastran, 2014, p.46, quoting Hopkins, 2011). Furthermore, postcolonial theory aims to provide a basis for “resistance and change of neocolonial narratives and relationships” (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p.510). According to postcolonial theorist Robert Young, “postcolonial theory disturbs the order of the world. It threatens privilege and power, [and it] refuses to acknowledge the superiority of the Western cultures” (Young, 2003, p.7). In other words, the two-fold goals of postcolonial theory are not only to deconstruct neocolonial histories, but to also construct postcolonial narratives, and according to Pastran (2014, p.46), these narratives signal “relationships are important for a critical yet productive exploration of such topics as volunteer tourism.” This suggests that IV can assist in the expressions of postcolonial theory through access of the volunteers to the narratives of the formerly colonized,

but it also suggests that IV may simultaneously stifle postcolonial narratives. This propensity to stifle is part of the concern that connects IV to a neocolonial ideology. In other words, a neocolonial ideology reinforces unequal power structures between Western and developed (volunteer) and developing (host community).

With this in mind, when current trends in IV are considered using postcolonial theory insights, significant questions are raised. Said's (1978) discussion of postcolonial theory is helpful in framing unequal power structures because his thoughts on nationalism, identity, and culture, can assist in understanding the culture of IV. Furthermore, Said's (1978) notions about national identity are grounded in a sense of national consciousness, in which individuals come to identify culturally with their home nation. In relation to IV, this implies that a volunteer may bring her embodied national consciousness abroad including how she has come to frame and understand her own identity in relation to her national identity. This may impact the ways volunteering is carried out in her interactions with the host community. In other words, everything her national identity means (i.e. power, wealth, leisure time) to the host community can accompany her, and this could perpetuate a culture of inequality. If volunteers perceive the host community in a hierarchical way, implying that Western ideas are better or more advanced, their very act of volunteering may become about the implicit recognition of this unequal structure, which reflects an era of imperialism.

Wright (2013) emphasizes Said's criticism of imperialism, which underscores how Western cultures tend to romanticize and subsequently misunderstand the Orient. Wright (2013) applies Said's notions of romanticizing the Other in relation to volunteers and their host communities, emphasizing how volunteers may be unaware of how the host community may perceive their engagement. In a similar critical vein, Spivak's (1985) notorious question, 'can the

subaltern speak?’ addresses the harsh influences of imperialism, specifically in terms of how the narrative is played and who gets to play it. In other words, it becomes clear that those who get to narrate the discourse of postcolonial theory are the privileged intellectuals, and not those whose voices should be heard (Spivak, 1985). In this light, the discussion of the influence of postcolonialism as it relates to IV needs to recognize the Western dominated school of thought that frames the contextual foundation of IV.

In the context of tourism, Tucker and Akama emphasize that postcolonial theory is helpful because it can not only emphasize the ways in which the residues of colonialism may be imbedded in tourism, but also “the ways in which tourism might act as a medium for offering postcolonial counter-narratives of resistance to those colonial relationships” (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p.504). Following this line of thinking for tourism may imply that IV has the propensity to be both an agent to reinforce inequalities as well as challenge them. By that same token then, IV, with an emphasis on service, should acknowledge the ways in which it may rely on an unbalanced colonial ideology while also acknowledging the ways it might be used as a tool of postcolonial theory as a way to illuminate the new narratives Spivak emphasized. In this light, IV could be understood as a means to “disturb the order of the world” in the spirit of postcolonial theory. Moreover, considering its growth as a critical discourse in the last 40 years, postcolonial theory has risen with other theories such as poststructuralism and feminism (Gandhi, 1998), and has subsequently been influenced to varying degrees by these discourses and has emerged as an interdisciplinary critical theory (Pastran, 2014).

With this new emergence in mind, other disciplines within higher education such as women’s and gender studies, economics, sociology, political studies, and postcolonial theory began to engage in critical analyses of international development to assess why decades of

development had still not made the intended impact (Pastran, 2014). For many, these “dreams [of development] progressively turned into a nightmare,” according to Escobar (1995, p.4), and are what assisted in the emergence of post-development theory.

The discourse of post-development theory bears mentioning in order to demonstrate how it has also been influenced by postcolonial theory, further exemplifying how the framework of postcolonial theory can be a helpful critique for international volunteering. It is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis to examine in detail the discourse of post-development since, as previously discussed, development has generally been situated within the role of governments or NGOs as opposed to specific IV sending organizations, which focus on the individual volunteer as a consumer of IV. The value of post-development discourse, however, is that it further demonstrates how, during decolonization, some of the ‘traditional practices’ occurring in developing nations were thought to be inadequate and a hindrance to development because they were considered inferior and needed to be modernized. It is this presumption of inferiority that is important because denies the inherent validity of societies that are non-Western and is therefore a form of domination, which stands counter to democratic principles that supposedly are at the core of ‘modern’ societies, and so, post-development discourse helps reveal this paradox:

In a paradoxical twist, the transfer of the Third World to European and American fabricated modernities was even more abstracted and removed from local social and political realities than its parent varieties, and consequently, the policies and belief in the power of science and technology were seldom questioned (Arce and Long, 2005, p.5).

Following this line of thought, development, on any level was not achievable unless a Western style approach to development was executed in developing nations, highlighting the imposition of a Western hegemonic process in the dominant societies (Escobar, 1995). This is highlighted

within the context of IV to acknowledge that a mindset of what is superior versus what is inferior may still be at play for Western volunteers as they interact with a host community.

In addition, one challenge to the discourse of development is to de-nationalize the assumption and see the entire practice of development as a socially constructed phenomenon and “embedded within certain economic epistemes which value some assets over others” (Sumner & Tribe, 2008, p.9). These economic epistemes reflect the Western assumptions about how an economy should or should not be operated, including the promotion of some goods over others. Sumner and Tribe highlight how policies, which promoted the marketing of US goods over other products, lend themselves to these embedded epistemes. By understanding where the epistemes are situated, a more post-modern and post-developmental approach to development (and also IV) can be adopted, which looks for “alternative value systems so that the poor are not stigmatized and their spiritual and cultural assets are recognized” (Hickey & Mohan, 2003, p.38).

A pivotal post-development critique of development then, is that modernization implies that the Western discourse of what is modernization is superior and one that must be imposed upon the global South (Sumner and Tribe, 2008). This is part of the reason why the discourse of post-development emerged – as a way to illuminate the hegemonic implications of other nations needing to ‘catch up.’ The criticism of development goes beyond the failure of the push to simply ‘catch up,’ but reflects dissatisfaction with Western-centric development ideologies, allowing development to become more reflective in this face of critique.

Within a Western-centric framework, IV may be understood as extension of colonialist or developmental discourses and practices. Mongia (1996, p.1) suggests that postcolonial theory then can be “increasingly used to describe that form of social science criticism that bears witness to these unequal and uneven processes of representation by which the historical experience of the

once colonized third world comes to be framed in the West.” Through this definition, postcolonial theorization, and, to an extent, post-development theory can offer an approach to understanding IV that pays attention to this unequal process. Within the framework of post-development, however, Escobar (2015) suggests that post-development be placed into the wider perspective of transition discourses, which recognizes the emphasis on the transformation of civilization. What is key, Escobar notes, is that discourses of transition acknowledge the need to reframe the “existing institutional and epistemic boundaries” in order to see a transformation of civilizations (Escobar, 2015, p.451). One way this may begin to occur is through a more widely accepted recognition of the ways that neoliberal globalization has created a sense of urgency to address how and in what ways civilizations across the world are being transformed.

Globalization and the Rise of a Neoliberal Ideology

Since globalization has emerged in sociological debates within the last 40-50 years and continues to evolve within sociological research, it is appropriate to first examine the influential role of economic globalization, how differing definitions have come to frame the way it is understood, and how it has evolved in the past 50 years. While world leaders, political commentators, and scholars agree that globalization is occurring and the world is more globalized, views differ on what this means and whether or not the outcomes are good or bad (Christopherson, Garretson, & Martin, 2008). For example, on one hand, according to Ritzer (2007), many academic scholars including Antonio, Freidman, McMichael and Yearly argue for the harm and inequality caused by globalization (i.e., globophobia), suggesting it can be environmentally and culturally damaging. On the other hand, the Washington consensus endorses globalization for its limitless opportunities related to economic growth and prosperity (i.e., globophilia), marking the marvels of modern progress. For Guillén, globalization can be a

multi-layered exchange process “fueled by, and resulting in, increasing cross-border flows of goods, services, money, people, information, and culture” (Guillen, 2001, p.36).

Giddens (1999, p.64) suggests globalization is the “decoupling of space and time,” while David Harvey (1989) describes globalization as a shrinking of the world, and Manuel Castells (1996) and Stephen Kobrin (1997) focus on globalization as it is related the advancement of technological and informational features as opposed to foreign trade. Meanwhile, Gilpin (1987, p.389) argues that globalization is the “increasing interdependence of national economies in trade, finance, and macroeconomic policy.” Guillén prefers to fuse the definitions of two different sociologists, Roland Robertson and Martin Albrow, to define globalization as “a process leading to greater interdependence and mutual awareness among economic, political and social units in the world, and among actors in general” (Guillén, 2001, p.236).

For many, the word ‘globalization’ has come to contain a plethora of meanings as it has been used by economic developers to promote free trade and by those working in the not for profit sector to promote such campaigns as women’s rights, cross-border advocacy networks, and environmental sustainability. Guillén (2001, p.237) also suggests that this usage of the term has created an “impersonal and inevitable force in order to justify certain policies or behaviors.” Wallerstein (1999) demonstrates ways in which the word ‘globalization’ has evolved into a more regularly used term suggesting it is used by nearly everyone to describe a concept but with multiple meanings and connotations. He argues that it is perceived as common knowledge that globalization has changed everything from the decline of the power of the nation-state to instability of cultural identities. The distinguishing point that Wallerstein stresses is whether or not the debate is about economic globalization or simply a debate about a time of transition in a global societal era, and that the contextual framework used to describe it is not new. McCabe

(2001, p.138) points out that globalization has become a word popularized by media and now intermixed with the word internationalism, both of which have different meanings, suggesting that both words have become caught in the “continuum of ‘isms.’” The definition of globalization suggests that it is still evolving and that the process of globalization can be complex, fragmented, and disjointed; all factors that impact on understanding the situatedness of IV.

In light of this disjointed process, the question of when globalization began is also debatable. Historically, globalization’s origins date back to 16th Century Europe and the explorers who first circumnavigated the globe in search of trading for business purposes (Mazlish, 1993). According to Robertson & White (2003), globalization began around the turn of the 20th Century, between 1875 and 1925, with the creation of the international dateline and the time zone system. For Guillén, however, globalization began in the Cold War era, as colonies simultaneously achieved independence and investment and trade grew stronger. For all intents and purposes for IV, this thesis adopts Guillén’s view of when globalization began.

Part of the reason why these debates on the definition and emergence of globalization continues to evolve is because the word ‘globalization’ became a new “buzzword and/or blame word” (Robertson & White, 2003, p.345) wrought with complexities, especially in the 1990s. For example, arguments about globalization, specifically whether it has succeeded or failed (in terms of development), have called into question its outcomes and whether or not such outcomes are harmful or helpful. This is partly why it is relevant to bring attention to the many ways in which globalization has come to be defined and understood: because how it is defined and how it is framed may influence how volunteers view their sense of volunteering. In this light, understanding globalization is relevant for this thesis because it frames the discussion on how a

neoliberalist ideology has helped position IV within the framework of commodification given IV's connection to alternative tourism (Wearing & McGehee, 2013).

A neoliberalist ideology emerged during the Regan and Thatcher eras with an emphasis on less government interference in the market in the spirit of good business competition. While economic globalization arguably supports neoliberalism, they are distinguishable in that globalization essentially casts a wide net which includes several ideologies related to the progression of a global capitalist society (Kotz, 2000), and neoliberalism is one of those ideologies that surfaces when the net is brought in. The rise of global capitalism and free markets during the 1980s further positioned wealthier nations of the global North in power over poorer nations of the global South. Bockman (2013, p.14) defines neoliberalism as both “an approach to government and a defining political movement.” Forged in the 1970s but expanded extensively in the 1980s, the rise in a neoliberal ideology, according to Bockman, was a capitalist response to increasing socialism of the 1960s and is more than just a right-wing ideology. Chun (2008) suggests that neoliberalist practices have been instrumental in the increasing divide between the rich and the poor as well as the degradation of the environment.

In this light, this means that industries such as mass tourism (which may have a negative environmental impact) and subsequently, voluntourism, need to be explored within a framework of globalized neoliberal ideology. In doing so, the part of IV that is situated within tourism reveals the ways IV, as a potential commodity, could potentially create tension between tourism and traditional notions of service or development, which may be generally seen to be more community or people focused versus profit focused. This tension between the idea of tourism and the idea of service was pronounced, according to Vrasti (2013), during the rise of a neoliberal ideology when voluntourism became packaged for the first time and sold to young

adults who came to identify it as part of the new wave of tourism opposed to mass tourism. For Vrsti (2013, p.1), voluntourism is partly about a genuine desire to help other cultures while also learning about them, highlighting that IV emerged from “forms of education and production, such as study abroad initiatives, continuing education, mandatory service programs and internships.” Vrsti (2013) situates IV comfortably within the context of service-learning in educational institutions, but also situates IV somewhat awkwardly within tourism because of the way tourism is structured within a market, and therefore, commodified.

According to McGloin and Georgeou (2015, p.4), the explosive growth of voluntourism organizations specifically “can be linked to the rise of neoliberalism as the dominant logic underpinning current development practice.” That being said, voluntourism as a desirable experience that can be commodified, the gap year also is part of IV, which has been popularized in places like the UK, Australia, and Canada for example. Lyons et al. (2011) explore the various ways the gap year has been commodified to promote a sense of global citizenship. Situated within the context of Australian neoliberalism, Lyons et al. (2011, p.365) ask what role neoliberalism plays in gap year programs, suggesting that neoliberal policies have “become intertwined in the dominant discourse surrounding gap year tourism,” and how voluntourism within the gap year “embraces or is resistant to neoliberalist ideology.”

Emphasizing the deeply embedded sense of consumerism within the growing generation of gap year participants, voluntourism may be seen as a revolt against neoliberalist ideology while simultaneously benefiting from this ideology in the gaining of a sense of global citizenship, cultural capital, or skills to highlight on a CV. In this spirit, Wearing and McGehee (2013) highlight the need to explore other approaches to voluntourism:

Therefore, there is a need to examine alternative approaches to tourism that avoid these objectifying and commodifying processes so that the relationship between

local cultures and tourists is actively repositioned. One approach to re-orientate this relationship is the concept of ‘social value’, which in the context of tourism seeks to endorse local people and cultures (Wearing & McGehee, 2013, p.41).

In this vein, IV may be seen as an “appropriate response to global economic inequality” (Mostafanezhad, 2014, p.2) because this connection is partly accomplished in the way IV can simultaneously be the rejection of neoliberal ideologies while espousing its strategies. In other words, the traditional notion of volunteering and the traditional notion of mass tourism seem, in many ways, to be diametrically opposed, yet they are being brought together and sold to morally conscious consumers from mostly Western developed societies. These morally conscious consumers are aware of global issues more than before due to increases in technology and access to information (Lyons et al., 2011), and according to Butcher (2003), moral tourism has risen with a focus on the self so that tourists might feel better about their tourist activities. In other words, opportunities for IV to ‘make a difference’ will continue to grow because “globalized neoliberal capitalism continues to produce growing inequality” (McGloin & Georgeou, 2015, p.6).

With this in mind, Mostafanezhad (2014) emphasizes that aside from a few critics within the academy, IV has largely escaped criticism of being connected to neoliberal practices because of its emphasis on individual morality. Instead of focusing a critical gaze on structural inequality, IV tends to reframe the inherent nuances of neoliberalism to the focus on the individual volunteers and the ‘difference they are making.’ In other words, and according to Guttentag (2011, p.71), in an effort to illuminate some of the unequal power structures between volunteers and host communities, IV needs to be examined from a more critical perspective; one that does not “excuse poverty.” Guttentag (2011, p.71) further cautions that this notion of individual morality could skew some volunteer experiences in the sense that volunteers may come to see

the host community as “poor-but-happy,” instead of inspiring the volunteers to challenge the systems that likely impoverished the host community. For this reason, studying the personal transformation of volunteers is necessary because it could potentially measure volunteers’ recognition of structural inequality, as it is perceived through their individualized experiences. This also means, Vrasti (2013) emphasizes, that the wide range of organizations operating IV programs need to be considered in order to explore some of these deeper questions.

An increase in global consciousness could mean that the Global Justice Movement introduced in chapter one reflects the rise of neoliberalist practices with opponents speaking out for a new kind of inclusive and socially just globalization. Echoing Freire’s pedagogical emphasis on critical consciousness, Diprose (2012, p.190) posits that this kind of consciousness is intended to foster awareness in how volunteers “connect their lives with wider social systems.” With this in mind, the GJM and IV may emphasize the deficiencies of globalization and neoliberalism if they can foster a greater awareness of the global injustice that these systems create and perpetuate. Obviously, not all global injustices can be linked to the process of globalization or to the rise of a global neoliberal ideology, but the increasing knowledge of their contribution to injustice and inequality has assisted IV to grow accordingly to accommodate market demands to ‘make a difference.’

Information Age

Given that information about foreign nations, peoples, or policies on a global level is more accessible than ever, this section discusses the influential role of the media and information age in the ways pressing global issues are presented, which in turn have arguably assisted in creating a sense of responsibility as well as spurring on movements such as the Global Justice Movement. Both economic and cultural globalization have influenced the role that technology has played in terms of increasing awareness of global issues. The influential role of the media in

illuminating certain events from famine to genocide contributes to the ways in which the West is exposed to the idea of injustice. For example, Doctors Without Borders, or Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), was founded by a group of French doctors who felt a sense of responsibility to use their skills in the developing world partially because of images they saw on television:

After the revolt of May '68 burst onto their black and white TV screens, the French public soon saw other, more frightening images. For the first time, television broadcasted scenes of children dying from hunger in remote corners of the world. In southern Nigeria, the province of Biafra had seceded. This minuscule territory was surrounded by the Nigerian army and the Biafran people were decimated by famine. (MSF website, retrieved 26 January 2016).

Today, MSF is a well-known organization (sending more than 3,000 doctors abroad annually), originating out of a sense of shared consciousness by identifying a need doctors perceived in the developing nation of Nigeria who saw themselves as part of the solution.

When television and newspapers first began exposing images and broadcasts of developing nations in the 1960s, this assisted in the creation a sense of urgency as issues in foreign places were presented in the homes of Westerners. Mahadeo and McKinner (2007) explore the concepts of how images are represented in the media, specifically in relation to the ways in which Africa has become synonymous with poverty. Their emphasis is that “the process of information production is pregnant with powerful cultural and ideological assumptions about what is ‘normal’ and ‘acceptable’ and the main centres of information production and dissemination are located in the affluent and powerful ‘Western’ parts of the world” (Mahadeo & McKinner, 2007, p.14).

In this light, the power and ability of a primarily Western-dominated media plays a role in influencing how meaning is constructed. “The concept of representation embodies the theme that the media construct meanings about the world - they represent it, and in doing so, help audiences to make sense of it” (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007, citing O’Sullivan et al., 1998,

p.71). Because the media helps audiences make sense of the world, Mahadeo and McKinney emphasize how the West has come to understand crises in Africa and the role the media has played in creating these imageries, which for some may spur a sense of individual responsibility.

Currently, with the ease of access to information via the World Wide Web, the medium for receiving news may have shifted, but the messages have generally remained the same, which tend to perpetuate colonial ideologies of the other to reinforce the power structures between the West and the developing world (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007). Due to the ability of the media to help perpetuate these notions, the way the world is more globally interrelated and interdependent is becoming clearer. Castells (1999) contends that globalization is partly about the progression of information and technology to spur on social movements and that as the developing world continues to gain access to information systems via mobile phones and Internet access, the process of all nations becoming more culturally inter-connected will continue. “Technology per se does not solve social problems. But the availability and use of information and communication technologies are a pre-requisite for economic and social development in our world” (Castells, 1999, p.114).

In consideration of informational and technological advances that may help progress social movements and a shared global consciousness, and may also invoke a sense of responsibility, it is necessary to briefly introduce the rise of the digital information age and its influence on the how pressing issues in the developing world are made easily visible to the West. The increasing number of people around the world who have access to information quickly has accelerated the pace of global social movements and may also contribute to a sense of responsibility for some individuals. According to Conversi (2012, p.1357), “The Internet revolution has brought about new levels of global interconnectedness, often resulting in the rise

of a new global consciousness.” For example, issues such as “global warming, the AIDS pandemic, and the globalization of the media” are heightened via the media and the awareness of these issues has become a reality for those living in more developed societies, giving some validity to the idea of living in an “increasingly interconnected world” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999, p.4-5).

This idea of a highly interconnected world with an increased global consciousness is also helping to accelerate global social movements and the sense of responsibility for some volunteers to respond in different ways to what they perceive as a global or social injustice. While some debate exists on activism as a response to global injustice, Wilson (2000, p.217) suggests “there is no good sociological reason to study them separately.” Because of the relationship that can be formed between volunteering and activism, which is often centered on notions of social justice, it is apparent that specific social circumstances will therefore indicate the type of relationship between volunteering and activism. For example, “[w]hen the [US] government was slow to respond to the AIDS crisis, volunteers had to double up as activists to help mobilize resources to deal with the problem” (Wilson, 2000, p.217). This is one example where volunteers chose activism as a way to respond to an issue they strongly identified with or believed was an injustice. Although the AIDS crisis in the 1980s garnered volunteers and activists who often were fighting for their own rights, it suggests that volunteering and activism may be related to a sense of responsibility in order to achieve social justice. Although there is no direct correlation to engagement in IV, local activism could suggest that as more issues or injustices related to globalization arise, volunteers may be likely to respond to such issues as a result of a desire to see justice implemented on a global level.

The use of technology and social media to share information rapidly has also played an integral role in the efforts to coordinate social movements from Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street (O'Donnell, 2011). The influence of the information age in the past 20 years has revolutionized the way that information can be accessed and accelerated the ways in which it can be communicated. As a result, ideas, information, and global social movements are rapidly altering the ways in which globalization is demonstrated and a sense of responsibility is carried out. Although technology has made communication easier among organizers of social movements, it is not conclusive if technology itself has accomplished any real success on an institutional or political level. Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore in depth the rise of the information age and its influence on any number of social movements. What is key to note, however, is the influence of the information age on a shared (or global) consciousness, which does impact how IV participants make meaning of their experience and their increased sense of responsibility to the developing world. For example, much media attention was given to Darfur in Sudan during the Sudanese Civil War (later deemed genocide), which began in 2003 and is currently ongoing. De Yeaza (2014) demonstrates how the use of social media by many humanitarian organizations garnered instant support through the click of a button. The increased interest in the Sudanese genocide via technology may signpost toward the sentiment of Westerners who feel bad about Darfur and feel a responsibility to help by donating money via the click of a button.

Although IV is concerned with volunteers who go abroad, Darfur is used as an example to highlight the influence of social media within the information age to raise awareness and increase a sense of action or responsibility on the part of Westerners. "Save Darfur became an internationally recognized phrase and subsequently a movement organizing more than 350 rallies

in 41 countries...and is comprised of more than 180 organizations” (De Yeaza, 2013, p.644-645). While technology and an increased global interconnectedness may help to accelerate awareness of global social movements or increase levels guilt or responsibility, it does not always mean that movements like Darfur are inspiring Western volunteers to engage in IV. With the influence of the media in mind, what is an appropriate response to help those perceived as in need or those who may ask for it? In light of the macro level forces which have propelled international volunteering, questions about the individual’s role still remain. While debates about responsibility are addressed in chapter three, it is necessary next to discuss within the contextual framework the unique role of service-learning and how notions of service are grounded in IV in terms of identity development.

Situatedness of IV in Service

The situatedness of IV in service, and specifically the role of service-learning, is important for this thesis for a few reasons. Firstly, because of this thesis’ intentional focus on the element of service as a means of creating self-awareness. Secondly, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter, whether in volunteering for development or voluntourism, service plays a unique role in both. For this reason, an exploration of service that incorporates service-learning practices, which largely originated within the US educational system, helps to further contextualize IV. Moreover, situating IV within service is relevant because the belief that volunteers can ‘give back’ or ‘make a difference’ through IV is a driving factor for many volunteers to participate (Butcher, 2010). While this sense of ‘giving back’ may be seen as naïve or altruistic, it nonetheless situates IV within a framework where service is a key motivator.

Some volunteers may engage in IV through a specific GSL project with their university while others may engage with an NGO that focuses on developmental projects. Other volunteers

may participate in organizations specifically designed to create IV experiences for them while others may choose to engage with IV because of a global in/justice issue that made an impression on them. Additionally, many volunteers who choose to participate in IV do so with the assumption that they will be engaging in some way to assist a host community while also engaging in their own growth and development. Considering this lens to view IV, the foundation of service-learning helps situate IV within an educational and cultural framework, and also explain how it is connected to personal transformation and global justice issues.

Recalling Giddens' (1991) concept of life politics (living a lifestyle that is morally justifiable) suggests that service could be included as part of one's life politics, whether that means volunteering at home or volunteering abroad. According to Flecky (2011), volunteering is different from service-learning in that service-learning is directly tied to a curriculum and course objectives whereas volunteering can stand alone. Because of the influence of service-learning in US education at the turn of the twentieth century and its generally accepted theoretical knowledge and practice (Speck & Hoppe, 2004), volunteering has consequently gained more attention from the academic community. For instance, on one hand, while many IV programs are not associated with any kind of curriculum or classroom credit, there may be learning outcomes. On the other hand, GSL programs at universities are growing as study abroad programs are partnering with service-learning programs to share best practices and engage eager volunteers in larger global issues through service projects (Hartman & Kiely, 2014).

Although some IV programs outside higher education may have outcomes for volunteers similar to their GSL counterparts, such as intercultural competency for example, by no means are all IV sending organizations practicing or implementing trainings or curriculum in the same way GSL programs do at universities. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore the

nuanced differences between GSL and IV programs, what is relevant for the thesis is the influential and historical role that the ethos of service-learning has played in influencing IV and how this ethos has been extended to impact ways volunteers both domestic and international may strive to live the morally justifiable lives that Butcher and Smith (2015) suggest.

Domestic service-learning and international volunteering are related in that they have similar but distinguishable aspects that transcend multiple fields of study and because they both have come to play a role in many Western societies. More specifically, understanding service-learning within the context of the US is helpful since the majority of participants in this thesis were US citizens and were volunteering via US organizations. While the notion of volunteering is present in other societies outside the US and it is a universally human activity, the emphasis on volunteering as a means to engage students in the sense of service-learning is particularly emphasized within an educational context in the US. In order to better understand how IV is situated in relation to this specific thesis and its participants, it is necessary to briefly introduce the historical influence of the US educational system and its emphasis on service-learning.

In terms of US history, some of the major political movements, which defined the social landscape of the 20th Century such as the Civil Rights Movement and Women's Suffrage, for example, were movements that relied heavily upon volunteers. While these volunteers were primarily involved for their own emancipation and their context is markedly different from modern day IV, it nonetheless demonstrates that volunteers (regardless of personal motives) can be key players in social movements, and lends itself broadly to notions of personal transformation. The idea that volunteers could create both social and political change while also experiencing transformation was demonstrated through some of these social movements, and subsequently became an important component in the fabric of US society, and specifically in the

educational system. Speck and Hoppe (2004, p.30) demonstrate how the origins of service-learning began in the US as American universities began to focus some of their attention to community life and civic engagement. Similar to the way international development was framed in the post-World War II era, graduate engagement in the democratic process was a focus of some universities at the turn of the 19th Century, US:

The model for university graduate engagement in reform and democracy was Wisconsin. President Charles Van Hise called it “the Wisconsin Idea,” a broadly conceived project to foster reform and civic improvement based on the specialized knowledge embodied by the university and its graduates. The Wisconsin Idea rested on the conviction that students and university-trained experts could apply themselves to the problems of modern society and make democracy work more effectively (Speck & Hoppe, 2004, p.30)

It is this kind of ethos that is highlighted because it reflects the spirit of manifest destiny and democracy which suggests that engagement in civil society is partly the responsibility of the individual to become engaged in the process. Volunteering and service-learning make sense within the context of the US as this ethos continued to shape educational philosophy and subsequently service-learning into a channel for social change in the early part of the 20th century.

The idea of citizenship has garnered attention because of the generally accepted notion that service-learning can be used as a tool to assist in instilling a sense of citizenship and national consciousness. Because of this generally accepted idea, many scholars have focused on the pedagogy of service-learning. For instance, John Dewey, David Moore, David Kolb, and William James, have played influential roles in the development of service-learning, and have developed theories, concepts and best practices regarding the pedagogy of service-learning.

Given this evolution of service-learning as a means of developing a sense of citizenship-related skills in the US, many educational institutions on the secondary and tertiary level

emphasize service-learning to their students. John Dewey, who pioneered education and social reform in the late 19th century and early 20th century, is cited by many as the philosophical and pedagogical inspiration behind service-learning (Giles & Eyler, 1994; Stanton, Giles, & Cruz, 1999). In the early 1970s (together with Ron Fry) Kolb developed the Experiential Learning Model (ELM), which is composed of four elements: concrete experience, observation of and reflection on that experience, formation of abstract concepts based upon the reflection, and testing new concepts. Cone and Harris (1996) suggest that Moore's argument of meaning-making is not centered or fixed, but that service-learning allows ways to examine shifting systems of meaning. Most recently, David Moore (1990, p.281) suggested a post-structuralist approach to service-learning as a "critical pedagogy in which students and teachers conduct unfettered investigation of social institutions, power relations, and value commitments." Kolb (2008) cites William James as one of the most influential philosophers from the US, known as the father of [North] American psychology. James has helped to popularize progressive education, also known as experiential learning, which, in many ways, has become conflated with the principles of service-learning.

The notion that students should take an active role in their learning process by engaging with problems in their community in a collaborative fashion is important for a few reasons. Firstly, it means that if service-learning can be used as a tool for the personal growth and development of students, so could IV. Secondly, it means that if students engaged in service-learning are taking an active role in their own learning to benefit a community or address an issue in a community, so could IV. A more critical look at both service-learning and IV, however, is needed if the tenets of service-learning are transferable to IV because this transfer

raises concerns about IV, specifically related to the ability to create global citizenship and global consciousness.

Tiessen and Huish (2014) explore some of the complexities and controversies of international experiential learning in their book, Globetrotting or Global Citizenship? Their cautions, specifically about extending the classroom into impoverished communities in the global South, may signal that some tenets of experiential and service-learning may not be transferable to IV. In experiential learning programs, the notion of global citizenship is framed as a meaningful and worthwhile endeavor, “invoking the logics of aspirational citizenship” (Diprose, 2012, p.187). This could imply that through experiential and service-learning components of IV, a participant in such a program may gain access to a greater sense of his or her identity and his or her perspective of the world – or global citizenship. The idea of an increased global consciousness or global citizenship has become a flagship message touted by IV organizations as a desired outcome, but how and in what ways this is grounded requires further critical exploration (Tiessen and Huish, 2014). This critique is necessary in relation to service-learning because if service abroad is one of the primary pathways to acquire global citizenship (Lyons et al, 2011), it makes sense that volunteers choose to engage with the service aspect of IV as a means to an end for their own growth and personal development. How global citizenship is achieved through service and what this means, however, is still vague (Tiessen & Huish, 2014). Within the situatedness of service-learning then, a critique of IV is the way in which it still fosters a focus on growth of the self, and how this can seem contradictory.

In consideration of this and the influence of the US educational system in relation to its emphasis on service-learning, it is necessary next to consider some critiques of service-learning. According to Jacoby (1996 p.5), service-learning is a “form of experiential education in which

students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development.” In other words, educators have taken the traditional lessons of the classroom out into the field to provide a pragmatic and progressive real-life learning experience in hopes the students may undergo a greater transformation than from a traditional classroom setting.

Although service-learning has become a widely accepted practice in the US, and within institutions, there are still some concerns about the real beneficiaries. If the purpose of service-learning is to primarily benefit the volunteer because of a co-curriculum designed to enhance their learning experience, then what does this mean for the recipients of the service? How can the practice of service-learning, which is designed to focus on the transformative process of the participant, be incorporated into IV with the recipient of the service in mind? While this thesis focused specifically on the experiences of volunteers and not the experience of the host community, it bears mentioning that these are the kinds of questions and concerns that encourage research on the ethics of IV. Moreover, these concerns about IV may be grounded in similar concerns about service-learning. If IV programs (which are outside classroom environments in host communities in developing nations) resemble Jacoby’s (1996) definition of service-learning, then the notion of using a host community as a ‘classroom environment’ or training ground for student learning can become problematic.

While many educators believe service-learning programs are noble and full of learning potential for their students because service-learning can encourage reflexivity for example, there are nonetheless critiques about service-learning which parallel critiques of IV. According to Pompa (2002 p.68), “Unless facilitated with great care and consciousness, service can unwittingly become an exercise in patronization. In a society that is replete with hierarchical

structures and patronizing philosophies, service-learning's potential danger is for it to become the very thing it seeks to eschew." Pompa's (2002) critique of service-learning is important for this thesis (emphasizing the importance of service in IV) because it opens the dialogue to the situatedness of IV within service, suggesting it may be linked to patronizing ideologies if not carefully practiced. It is within these kinds of ideologies that IV may be paradoxically neocolonial in the sense that it could reinforce power structures. These kinds of critiques are necessary for IV as they help introduce debates about the nature of service and call for an emphasis on reflexivity through service-learning.

In a similar vein, the critique of the emphasis of service-learning to achieve an outcome of personal transformation raises concerns about IV as an opportunity to help 'fix a problem' in the host community while also acquiring a sense of global citizenship, for instance. In other words, in the same way volunteers participating in service-learning projects in their home communities may be considered good citizens in the sense they are 'giving back,' volunteers participating in IV projects abroad may be considered good global citizens. By classifying them in this way, their altruistic desire to serve others may avoid criticism. According to Guttentag (2011, p.71), "an environment in which one privileged group is donating their time and another underprivileged group is receiving assistance is not particularly conducive to producing an equal-power relationship." In this light, IV programs with an emphasis on serving the host community should carefully consider the messages that they may be sending and how they are framing the service work.

In consideration of the different ways service-learning is approached, Stanford University has one of America's leading service-learning programs according to the annual rankings by US News and World Report (2015). Stanford's service-learning programs are seen as so robust that

faculty are highly encouraged to align their courses to enable their students to become involved with and provide direct service to local schools, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies. Furthermore, Duke University (in partnership with Stanford) has created a special global service-learning program called ACE (Athlete Civic Engagement), which allows student athletes to engaged in a GSL, who would not normally otherwise be able to volunteer abroad due to athletic training schedules (<http://www.ace.duke.edu>, 2016). Volunteers spend three weeks over the summer with a host community engaged in a service project “that will give our student-athletes a transformational experience, enhancing their own personal development and allowing them to contribute to the larger Stanford community when they return to campus” (retrieved June 2016, Stanford website). The example of Stanford University is highlighted because it demonstrates the degree to which the university values a global service-learning experience- that they have created a special program for their student athletes who are generally too busy to engage in a regularly structured GSL program. It also reflects one of many institutional examples in the US that emphasize GSL as a way to garner community involvement and engage students in a practical way to encourage reflection and personal transformation, and for some, global citizenship. These kinds of programs, which have grown across many university campuses, signal the ideology that through service-learning in a developing nation, the volunteer may return transformed. The dangers of replicating unequal power relations through unreflexive service-learning that Pompa (2002) and Guttentag (2011) draw attention to show why a critique of service-learning can help inform a critique of IV because it may fall prey to the same dangers.

With caution in mind, Mitchell’s (2008) comparison of traditional versus critical service-learning echoes other critics (Brown, 2001; Butin, 2005; Cipolle, 2004) in emphasizing that service-learning must be executed with great care and caution and should call to attention the

root issues, which can be social based issues related to power and privilege. What Mitchell means by traditional service-learning is an experience where the impact of service-learning may not go beyond a good feeling experienced by the participants, and furthermore, if service-learning does not pay attention to these root causes of the social issues, it will only perpetuate inequality and reinforce an us versus them dichotomy (Mitchell, 2008). In response to these limitations and in contrast to traditional service-learning, a critical service-learning approach has a much stronger social justice focus. Referencing Ginwright and Cammarota (2002), Mitchell (2008) further suggests that another main distinction between traditional service-learning and critical service-learning is that critical service-learning has an emphasis on social awareness. In other words, volunteers need to not only be made aware of inequality, but of the structures that perpetuate inequality. This newly evolved notion of critical service-learning is that it is more acutely aware of the power and privilege of those engaging in the service activity.

Using a critical service-learning approach may assist IV programs to be designed with deeper social and structural issues in mind. For instance, another example of GSL is Northwestern University's Global Engagement Studies Institute (GESI), which for Hartman and Kiely (2014) is the exemplar program for combining service-learning within a global and developmental context. While GESI is considered part of Northwestern's study abroad program, it is highlighted because it has incorporated a critical service-learning approach in the sense that it echoes Mitchell's (2008) emphasis on service-learning with a strong social justice focus.

Hartman and Kiely (2014 p.56) suggest, "As GSL programs continue to become more popular, they can draw on international development literature, research, and practice, and by doing so, strengthen the connections between these two paradigms." Since IV programs occur in an international and culturally different setting in comparison to domestic service-learning

programs, it is all the more necessary to carefully and consciously design programs, which take into account the history of development in that area and the current social issues the host community may be facing. In his argument for an increased partnership between the Peace Corps and higher education, Quigley (2013, p.144) asserts that GSL programs in higher education are excellent opportunities to prepare future Peace Corps volunteers:

While higher education's international service programs are shorter than the Peace Corps', they are effective in exposing students to cultures and environments different from their own. This exposure can shift student's worldviews. These service programs also help inculcate empathy and flexibility, which are essential to volunteer success and serve as critical building blocks for global citizenship.

While these programs can be beneficial for the volunteer participant, they can also be problematic, and have raised questions about the structures which have enabled IV and suggest IV may not only be a paradoxical issue, but an ethical issue.

Situatedness of IV in Tourism

Having explored the situatedness of IV in service and the unique role of service-learning, it is necessary to discuss the situatedness of IV within tourism and how it has evolved as an alternative form of tourism (Wearing, 2003). As discussed previously, the diversification and migration of IV has shifted from a "wider perspective of development...a retreat from politics into the realm of lifestyle" (Butcher, 2011, p.75). This new situatedness of IV with the tourism industry is important for the thesis because it signals not only a cultural shift, but an ideological shift. In recognition of this shift, this section explores how tourism, as an industry, has evolved to include developing nations and subsequently, IV and its volunteers as points of tourist interest.

In consideration of this, and given the wide variety of IV organizations, Diprose (2012) emphasizes that not all of them claim to be development oriented, but certain projects that utilize volunteers may be developmental in nature. This means that while situated within tourism, the

acknowledgment of the ongoing discourse of development may still be relevant for trends in IV because the discourse is what informs the practice of development (Mostafanezhad, 2014). Referencing her personal experience working in Thailand with host communities, Mostafanezhad (2014) emphasizes the widespread recognition among Thai people that organizations which focus on development projects are needed, but what this looks like, how it should be shaped, and if it should or should not include volunteers is unclear. Moreover, since IV sending organizations have traditionally been Western-based from developed societies, Diprose (2012, p.186) suggests that the “neoliberalization and professionalization” of IV creates concerns about IV as a commodity for Westerners while being framed as development for the host community. Nonetheless, Mostafanezhad (2014) highlights the seductive force development still retains in spite of the ways IV has migrated away from development and in spite of the layers of criticism it has received as being Western-centric.

Considering this seductive force, it is no surprise then that tourism has capitalized on development-type projects as a way to attract volunteers in the spirit of ‘making a difference.’ According to Scheyvens (2010, p.7-8), tourism to developing nations has been increasing significantly due to factors such as, “increased disposable income, improved airline schedules and transportation services, the emergence of low cost airlines...and the marketing by tour companies of holiday packages which minimize the uncertainties of travel to developed countries.” Scheyvens (2010) also highlights that tourists want to make a difference and are seeking out different experiences in varying forms when they are booking their travel, and as a result, tourism companies and NGOs have marketed this niche desire to ‘make a difference.’

In the exploration of volunteering as part of tourism, and specifically those who engage in voluntourism, Simpson (2004) stresses the importance of distinguishing between the

differences in development organizations/NGOs versus the more commercialized sending IV organizations that tend to focus on the volunteer experience. It was the rise of these profit-driven volunteer sending organizations which prompted criticism from the academic community as well as a UK based NGO, Tourism Concern (Scheyvens, 2010). This critique is emphasized because critiques of sending organizations may be expected by the academic community and not by the organizations that actually promote the programs. Given this, in their examination of 70 volunteer companies in the UK alone, Tourism Concern developed The Ethical Volunteering Guide, which revealed that much hangs on three distinguishable factors about these sending organizations: “how well they work in partnership with local organizations, the sustainability/continuity of projects which volunteers work on, and how well they educate their volunteers both prior to and during their travels.” While written by an NGO, these distinguishable factors in IV programs may be helpful to consider because they could contribute to the critique of IV. Moreover, these factors can inform the ways in which certain sending organizations may function within the tourism industry, which can help influence how volunteers come to understand their experience.

Ecotourism is one example of a niche market which emerged with the tourism industry that relies on volunteers as paying participants. Butcher (2003, 2005, 2006, & 2011) contributes a wide range of knowledge about how ecotourism specifically has been framed in an effort to counter mass tourism under the moral claim of the good it does to the local community and to the environment (Butcher, 2003). As NGOs and other developmental or environmental organizations reframe their language to attract volunteers and ultimately funds, Butcher (2003) suggests that ecotourism still has the potential to cause harm or damage to the local community or the environment. It can do this in a number of ways, but one way, Butcher (2003) suggests, is

through an approach which funnels the funding generated for the environmental project to be used in the way that the organization desires as opposed to being used in ways the host community may desire.

With this kind of logic, IV may follow suit as some ecotourism programs have, which could impact the local community in a potentially harmful way. Scheyvens (2010) developed a continuum of six classifications of volunteering to help determine the level of harm. The first classification is 'harmful,' which Scheyvens deems a new form of colonialism that perpetuates inequalities among developed and developing nations. This inequitable and neocolonial approach is explored further in chapter three. The second classification is 'egocentric' in that IV provides only an outlet for the relatively affluent volunteers to develop their accolades and CVs or have an adventurous experience in a poor nation. The third is 'harmless' which neither does harm nor significantly provides a sustainable contribution to the host community. The fourth is 'helpful,' where the IV program offers constructive assistance to the host community by providing resources or skills. The fifth is 'educational,' which provides for richer cultural exchange and increased opportunities for cross-cultural understanding. The sixth and final stage in Scheyven's continuum is 'social action,' which leads to greater involvement of volunteers in a sustainable social movement. This thesis recognizes Scheyven's continuum because it can be a useful tool in examining how volunteers perceive their experience. Further, this continuum acknowledges that volunteers may be anywhere on this continuum based on their own understanding of their role in the sending organization in which they volunteered.

In an effort to understand how volunteers have come to view their experience, their role within the organization and why they engaged in IV to begin with, Vrasti (2013, p.2) takes the social phenomenon of IV further:

Why is an escape from modern society pleasurable and even desirable? What is it about the present moment that requires individuals, especially young adults, to organize their lives, even their spare time, around imperatives of cosmopolitan sensibilities and personal responsibility? And why have these imperatives become shorthand for entrepreneurial action expected from good neoliberal subjects?

These kinds of questions explore what lies beyond the operations of sending organizations to examine the societal structures which may lead Westerners to desire IV as an experience which could change them. Whether it be a desire to leave the West to see something perceived as authentic living or truly altruistic motives, Vradi (2013) emphasizes that the exploration of these kinds of desire are worth exploring. Further, Vradi (2013, p.4) argues that it is “less the novelty or magnitude of volunteer tourism that should trouble us, but the virtuous place it occupies in our collective imaginary, from self-righteous participants, enthusiastic parents, educators, employers, all the way to the congratulatory coverage in popular and scholarly publications.” With this in mind, the role the social imaginary of voluntourism plays out becomes better realized in the expectations and ideas of imagined community for international volunteers. From a tourism perspective, Salazar and Graburn (2014) emphasize that no matter what kind of tourism people engage with, they travel with a set of ideas and expectations derived from any number of sources. This is what is meant by the social imaginary.

Tourism spaces, set apart from the mundane world for the tourists, are in part spaces of the imaginary, of fantasy, and of dreaming. Places across the globe have different images attached to them. A series of social practices, ideologies, and behaviors derived from tourism imaginaries and their discourses subtly influence how people engage with the other (Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p.17).

The broader social imaginary paves the way for the more specific and individualized volunteer imaginary, which can influence the meaning-making process of how volunteers expect to interact with the host community, for instance. The collective imaginary should be explored in greater depth in relation to cultural practices, which, according to Mostafanezhad (2014, p.10),

“embody a different yet related cultural politics.” In this light, cultural politics of the host community and IV need to be considered in tandem. This means that individual imaginaries and collective imaginaries can be both personal and political. According to Salazar and Graburn (2014, p.1), international tourism evokes the ability “to imagine or enter into the imagining of others.” They suggest that without this imagination, international tourism could not fully exist as it relies on the marketing of the commodification of other foreign peoples and destinations.

With the volunteer imaginary in mind, and within the situatedness of IV with tourism, the amount of time spent in leisure or sightseeing activities plays an integral role in some IV programs. Although the amount of time in leisure varies by organization depending on their type, drive and focus, some IV organizations may focus on serving the volunteer in the sense that they are a paying customer versus serving the host community, and this also raises concerns about how IV programs operate and the kind of ethos they embody.

Examples of IV Sending Organizations

Introducing a few examples of IV organizations can shed light on the culture of IV participants and their unfettered desire to ‘make a difference.’ The organizations highlighted here are each unique in that they provide a brand of IV. This is to establish their scope and variety. Sending organizations can range from faith-based to non-faith based, from not-for profit organizations to companies, and also non-government as well as governmental organizations.

In regards to length of IV programs, while they can range from one week to one year or longer, short-term programs are increasingly gaining popularity among youth as they allow individuals to retain somewhat of a normal routine in their home country. While debate exists on the effectiveness of short-term international volunteers, long-term volunteers may have more time to build relationships with the host community, and may be able to address past colonial

inequalities as well as the “imperialism and the modernization paradigm of development” (Sherraden et al., 2008, p.405). Short-term volunteer programs typically lean toward promoting cross-cultural understanding with emphasis on the volunteer receiving benefits more so than the host community. While short-term volunteers may be able to contribute significantly in an effective manner towards a specific project, they may be limited due to lack of time to properly invest in relationships with the host community (Sherraden et al., 2008).

In regards to how IV programs operate, each type of activity is shaped by the “type of service activity, length and continuity of service, group or individual setting, direction of service and reciprocity, and the level of cross-cultural contact and immersion” (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008 p. 404). Programs can also have a specific focus, such as addressing environmental concerns. For instance, United Planet is an environmental organization with an array of programs specifically for volunteers who are passionate about environmental issues:

United Planet is committed to a variety of environmental projects around the world. There are many environmental volunteer abroad opportunities for both short-term and long-term professional and non-professional volunteers to make a critical difference worldwide (United Planet website, retrieved January 2016).

The flow of international volunteers has for the most part flowed from developed or richer nations to developing nations (Guttentag, 2011). Few organizations are reconstructing this flow to increase volunteers from the global South. For example, VSO recruits volunteers from the Philippines, India, and Kenya (Devereux, 2008). Although volunteers from developing nations are still few, it raises the question of access to volunteering and suggests that some globally Southern nations are becoming more economically developed and thus able to engage in such a privileged activity as volunteering.

Given this traditional flow of volunteers from the West into the global South, some organizations have developed a strategic mission and purpose and have successfully garnered

widespread and international attention. These organizations rally Western donors to help fund the mission and some have also been successful in gaining financial support by ‘tugging on the hearts’ of wealthy Westerners. These organizations are structured to focus specifically on creating meaningful overseas experiences for volunteers. In this way, many voluntourism organizations can be seen to offer a service (a volunteer experience) to consumers (volunteers).

Cousins (2007) suggest that volunteer tourists might be classified into the category of tourists committed to the ethical end of tourism. Butcher and Smith (2010, p.28) argue that while “there is no fixed definition of who is and who is not a volunteer tourist,” highlighting how the term itself can be seen as an oxymoron since “tourism is usually considered as time away from social and political obligations, whilst volunteering involves a desire to help others, and is associated with altruism.” This seemingly contradictory emphasis has received criticism from the academic community, which questions the motivations of the volunteers (who may desire to build their CVs) as well as the motivations of sending organizations, who may turn a profit from using poor host communities to host the volunteers (see for example, Cousins, 2007 and McGehee, 2012). In light of this, sending organizations have focused their energies in recruiting volunteers who believe their IV experience will be mutually beneficial for them as well as the host community:

This focus of the gap-year and volunteer tourism companies seems to resonate with significant numbers of people seeking to act upon their world, outside of traditional political channels, in the realm of the ethical consumption of holidays. For many of these people the erstwhile assumed boundaries between political and personal life no longer apply (Butcher and Smith, 2010, p.28).

In this vein, a brief sample of these organizations is helpful to illuminate their diversity.

Global Routes is an example of an organization that specializes in youth community service trips to developing nations located specifically in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Their

primary commitment is “...strengthening our global community through voluntary work overseas. To this end, we design foreign exchange programs based on community service, bringing people with different worldviews together” (Global Routes website, retrieved 15 December 2015). The majority of youth who participate come from North America, and according to their literature, these experiences are designed to create in youth a deeper sense of cultural understanding as well to develop youth through working, traveling and living abroad. The cultural exchange is the heart of what they do, which can often place the volunteer as central, although they claim that the exchange is reciprocal. In 2015, the New York Times referred to Global Routes one of the most respected organizations in the field of IV.

One of Global Routes’ flagship programs is their IV experience in Costa Rica. The highlights of this program they emphasize are Spanish language skills and learning about the local flora and fauna while helping locals who are serving in an environmental protection capacity. While these programs do not hide the fact that the volunteer’s experience is central to the program, they often emphasize the needs of specific villages marketing it in such a way that the volunteer (and ultimately their caregiver who will be funding the experience) can justify sending them. Moreover, these programs are marketed to the caretaker of the volunteer with an emphasis on the safety aspects and the cultural experience the volunteer will acquire.

Global Citizen Year is a non-profit non-religious organization whose mission is to create global citizens to think about social action in their home country as a result of spending six months abroad in between high school and university. Referred to as a bridge year as opposed to a gap year, they aim at engaging students in order to better prepare them for university:

Global Citizen Year is an award-winning, non-profit social enterprise on a mission to make it normal to choose a bridge year; an experience after high school that builds self-awareness, global skills, and grit – the foundations for success in college and beyond (Global Citizen Year website, retrieved 24 Jan 2016).

Unlike Global Routes, which is primarily focused on short-term trips during summer months to over 15 nations, Global Citizen Year only has bridge programs in Senegal, India, Ecuador, and Brazil. In addition, they require a two-month orientation and training in the US before departure. October – March is the six-month bridge year abroad while April – June is a period of re-entry in which the participants are required to present a capstone about their learning experience abroad and how it can relate to taking social action in their home communities. While Global Citizen Year is smaller than Global Routes in terms of popularity among traditional gap-year aged students, they also claim to be more intentional in regards to IV projects.

Global Action is a small non-profit Protestant faith-based organization located in Colorado, US. Global Action takes a different approach with an emphasis on evangelism and development in remote areas of the world. Their mission statement indicates a dedication to working alongside nationals and global partners to first meet a physical need such as hunger and living accommodations, but also to develop the spiritual needs of nationals and global partners. “We strive to fill the gaps around the world where there are desperate needs, but few, if any, organizations or individuals meeting them. Global Action shares the love of Christ by meeting these immediate needs” (Global Action website, retrieved 7 December 2015).

The Founder of Global Action is a former minister and an employee of the Salvation Army. Often times Global Action recruits volunteers from North America to visit one of their sites for a short period of time. One of Global Action’s flagship programs is the Hope Center in Kerch, Ukraine, a former soviet youth indoctrination camp. They have converted the camp and specifically designed it to house youth camps for many orphans in Ukraine and some also from Russia. At the Hope Center, volunteer groups help with the operation of the orphan camps and also engage in basic service duties such as cooking and cleaning and maintaining the grounds.

The above-mentioned organizations provide a brief overview when it comes to the types of volunteer organizations working in the developing world today. From large NGOs to smaller grassroots organizations, there is no data to suggest precisely how many IV programs exist worldwide. However, according to USAID, a US based governmental organization, there are over 518 US based and 113 internationally based registered Private Voluntary Organizations (PVO). These numbers do not reflect any universities or colleges (they need not register), any local NGOs in developing nations, private foundations, hospitals, or solely religious organizations. Furthermore, this number does not include those international organizations outside the US that did not register with USAID.

It is my understanding that sending organizations tailor their mission/vision statements to create more marketable programs for potential volunteers. While this controversy of marketing impoverished peoples as a tool to entice volunteers is discussed in the debates in the following chapter, it raises the point that there is interest in engaging in IV, and that some wealthy Westerners may be seeking ways to engage with the developing world beyond solely tourism. It is also necessary to highlight here that while the emerging field of voluntourism is growing and expanding and IV generally falls under the tourism umbrella, this particular thesis is focused on specifically the volunteer aspect of voluntourism. As introduced in chapter one, tourism can be a part of volunteering and vice versa, however the participants in this research engaged with the volunteering elements far more than the tourism elements of voluntourism. While some IV programs have outdoor adventure options for participants, for example, this thesis recognizes the structure of tourism that IV is situated within, but focuses on the transformational experiences of volunteers as it is explicitly related to volunteering and service, not tourism. Furthermore,

Benson and Wearing (2012, p.248) emphasize that with such a wide range of IV organizations, the complexity and range of these programs should not be overlooked:

Conflicting views of volunteer tourism highlight a need to avoid a generalized assumption that volunteer tourism is automatically good, just and altruistic. It is a layered phenomenon, with multiple stakeholders who have multiple needs and agendas, and continues to require a more critical analysis...

In consideration of this diversity of programs and the complexity of reasons volunteers engage, it could be argued that a sense of guilt and/or altruism may motivate volunteers to participate in IV as a means to feel better about their own sense of privilege. In this context, while altruism is a contested term, in this thesis altruism is defined as promoting the interests of others above one's own interests (Scott & Seglow, 2007). From an economic point of view, many of these sending organizations are providing a market need, whether that need is based on altruism or not. The array of the organizations that operate under the umbrella of development, service, cultural understanding, and tourism simultaneously highlights the diversity of organizations and their shared goals.

Conclusion

Placing IV within a contextual framework is important for the thesis in order to effectively demonstrate its evolution and diversification. An historical account of IV was presented and how it has evolved in the 20th Century to become integrated in the tourism industry. In recognizing this evolutionary aspect of IV, this chapter explored some of the macro level forces, such as colonialism, globalization, neoliberalism, and the information age, illuminating how each have influenced IV in unique ways. The concept of service-learning as a tool in US education was also introduced to connect the ways service and volunteering are part of IV, specifically in the way that the ideology of service-learning has been used as a tool for personal growth and transformation within a US context. An exploration of IV situatedness in

tourism was explored in an effort to reveal how this can potentially create concerns about commodification. This chapter also provided an overview of a range of different IV organizations highlighting some of the missions and diversity of these organizations. The overarching focus of this chapter on situatedness contextualizes the debates about responsibility and the paradox of IV, which are about a sense of global citizenship and the irony of seeking personal transformation in the name of social justice. Consequently, the need to explore IV through a strong theoretical framework can help shed light on how individual volunteers are situated within the complexities of IV. This exploration is undertaken in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The previous chapter detailed the historical evolution and diversification of IV including macro influences underpinning its emergence so as to develop an account of how it is currently situated at the confluence of service and tourism, drawing uniquely on notions of development. The purpose of this chapter is to firstly introduce the theoretical framework using two guiding theorists, Pierre Bourdieu and Jack Mezirow, whose concepts provide a strong theoretical structure to the overall thesis. Secondly, this chapter explores two key debates, which have arguably influenced the way IV has come to be framed.

Bourdieu and Mezirow each provide a distinct framework: Bourdieu's allows me to explore structure while Mezirow allows me to explore agency. For example, Bourdieu's concepts relating to power and privilege help frame the sociological structures at a macro level, while Mezirow's concepts relating to transformation help frame the sense of human agency by way of personal growth and development. In this way, working with both Bourdieu and Mezirow provides a strong foundation for exploring the tensions between social justice and personal transformation. These guiding theorists were chosen because of their ability to explore these tensions. For example, using what may be considered 'the plight of poor people' to assist in one's own personal growth presents as an ethical dilemma because it raises critical concerns regarding the justice of acquiring a personal transformational experience. In this light, the concepts of Bourdieu and Mezirow illuminate the paradoxical nature of IV while also bringing together its sociological, transformational, and pedagogical underpinnings.

The chapter is organized as follows: the limits and unviability of other theoretical approaches that could have been used are explained then the discussion moves to explain how

and why Bourdieu and Mezirow's theoretical approaches have been utilized. Specifically, the second part of this chapter examines how IV has been situated theoretically and further examines how various interlocutors argue about IV's responsibilities in relation to global justice (Wearing and McGehee, 2013). The first debate explores the notion of care and responsibility because this helps to broadly frame the ways in which volunteers may come to identify with a sense of responsibility including ideas associated with citizenship, agency, and engagement. The second debate, the paradox of IV, reveals how in the spirit of taking responsibility, IV has created concerns and arguably, ethical issues for deliberation. One concern suggests that it is ineffective because it can pose an 'us versus them' neocolonialist mentality that benefits the volunteers instead of the host community. In addition, concerns about organizations using host communities as 'incubators' for the personal growth of Western volunteers presents an ethical dilemma. Since this thesis explores whether and in what ways IV contributes to personal transformation as a means to foster awareness about global in/justice issues, the key debates and the arguments for and against IV help to further frame subsequent issues related to power and privilege.

Theoretical considerations: Why Bourdieu and Mezirow

Given the complex nature of international volunteering and the question of how best to understand it in relation to potential transformational outcomes, it is necessary to discuss other important theoretical approaches that could have been used to understand this relation and also to explain why they were not taken. One such approach could be to explore IV through social identity theory (SIT) of global citizenship (Hogg, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as a way to understand potential transformational outcomes (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013). This perspective suggests that global educational travel (or other similar international experiences) can lead to changes in how meaning-making is made in terms of global identity.

Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013) explore the antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship from a psychology-based perspective drawing largely on the work of Tajfel & Turner (1979), Dower (2002), and Davies (2006). A social identity perspective provides a unique lens that focuses on the collective group identity, in this case, the identity being global citizen. Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2012, p.860) argue that when a group social identity is salient, members of that group will adhere to the “group’s normative content,” thereby making membership into the global citizen group a psychological mentality or an “attitude one takes.” Nevertheless, SIT was not considered robust enough an approach to tackle this thesis question because, while using a social identity perspective can assist in understanding how a global citizen identity may be differentiated from other social identities, it does not fully articulate a perspective that emphasizes individual reflexivity within the larger societal structure.

Another example of a theoretical approach considered was Freire’s notion of conscientization (or conscious-raising). By this, Freire (1970) means that in order to develop a sense of one’s identity, reflection must be taken in conjunction with action. Using this theoretical approach, Freire (1970) suggested that through activities targeted on a measurable outcome, real action can occur. His work is largely acknowledged as a sound theoretical contribution to adult education, specifically in the challenge to developing a critical perspective. Grounded in the notion of emancipation, his early work also explores how learners can develop better reasoning and analytical skills in an effort to create transformation on a number of fronts (Dirkx, 1998).

Freire’s (1970) exploration of conscientization provides a unique lens to view transformational learning in relation to this thesis exploration because of its focus on the outcome of self-actualization through the identification of the obstacles that prohibit this development. For Freire, however, these obstacles were mostly social structures, which implies

that personal transformation towards self-actualization was seen as overcoming specific obstacles “to realize a more just and equitable society” (Dirkx, 1998, p.9). While this approach is helpful in that it has a strong emphasis on personal reflection and can illuminate steps that an individual could take on the journey toward a transformative outcome, it does not fully capture the tensions between a personal transformational experience in relation to the societal structures that are provided through the synthesis of Bourdieu and Mezirow.

By contrast, the synthesized perspectives of Bourdieu and Mezirow provide the necessary depth to explore the individual’s capability to experience personal transformation through a reflexive recognition of the role of the self in relation to societal structures. Furthermore, given the aim of this thesis, Bourdieu and Mezirow offer a more appropriate theoretical framework because when combined, they emphasize the need to look beyond personal transformational to understand it in relation to society more reflexively in order to reveal societal inequalities. In doing so, the theoretical framework in this chapter is founded on this emphasis as well as a means to conceptually establish the question that drives the thesis investigation.

Pierre Bourdieu and the Habitus

Bourdieu developed many ideas relevant to this thesis. Beginning broadly, Bourdieu suggests that within sociology, two main schools of thought serve as bookends: objectivism and subjectivism. Quoting Alfred Shultz, Bourdieu (1986, p.125) emphasizes that the social sciences cannot always be broken down as objectively or operationally:

By a series of common-sense constructs, they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world, which they experience as the reality of their daily life. It is these thought objects of theirs, which determine their behavior by motivating it. The thought objects constructed by the social scientist in order to grasp this social reality have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world. Thus, the constructs of the social sciences are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene.

This notion of dichotomous bookends (subjectivism and objectivism) is important because Bourdieu continuously attempted to combine the two. By examining those fixed social structures that influence our societal roles (objectivism) and simultaneously exploring the ebb and flow of how individuals construct and make meanings of their own social spaces (subjectivism or constructivism), Bourdieu was able to better understand social behavior. As such, Bourdieu was ultimately able to better explain the role power plays in social spaces, which is helpful for this thesis because it considers the social structures that influence social behavior, and can signpost to how meaning is made of social spaces, such as IV.

During his 1986 lecture in San Diego, Bourdieu said if he could characterize his work into two words, “I would speak of constructivist structuralism or of structuralist constructivism” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.123). By structuralism, Bourdieu is referring to those objective structures in the social world that can influence or control the behavior of people and/or what they represent. Bourdieu (1986) postulates that these objective structures often exist unconsciously or as unbeknownst to us. By constructivism, Bourdieu (1986) refers to two distinct concepts, which he calls field and habitus, which are discussed below.

Bourdieu (1986) suggests that as people (or what he refers to as agents) become acquainted and adjusted to their familiar world, their understanding of the world can be taken for granted, or understood as normal or natural. This is due in part to their dispositions or what Bourdieu calls habitus, which he describes as the past surviving in the present as a form of mental structures through which individuals go and retrieve the social world (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) emphasizes the “collective, relational and structured nature of social life in his theorization of habitus” (Finnegan, 2011, p.85), which articulates that embodied knowledge of the social world informs unconscious ways of making meaning. For instance, if IV tends to

portray a sense of Western dominance in that the lives of the volunteers are more advanced or modern, understanding habitus may help illuminate volunteers' embodied assumptions, as

Bourdieu (1987, p.123) describes habitus:

There is a social genesis on the one hand of the patterns of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call the habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and in particular of what I call fields and groups, especially of what are usually called social classes.

People who have formed daily habits and assumptions about their social world through “the products of the internalization of the structures of that world” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.131) begin to accept the social world around them as valid or a truth. Bourdieu (1986) also suggests that individuals in disadvantaged situations begin to accept and perceive their disadvantage as a normal feature about the social world around them because their perceptive dispositions tend to be adjusted according to their relative position or point of view. This means that if the structures of the social world are accepted as truth, the practice of reflexivity may assist to reveal those structures that have contributed to habitus.

This implies that personal transformation may be influenced through awareness of the habitus. This is an important concept for this thesis is because it “implies a sense of one's own place but also a sense of place of others” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.131). As volunteers come to understand their own place when they are abroad via their own habitus, they can then make sense of others around them, such as the host community, and subsequently make sense of their own positions of power and privilege.

To compliment Bourdieu's theoretical concept of habitus, fields are also useful in exploring the situatedness of international volunteers and the power structures at play. Fields are social spaces of groups at which agents and groups of agents become identified by their position in a field. According to Bourdieu (1985, p.724), “The properties selected to construct this space

are active properties...as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field.” Bourdieu’s (1985) famous example of sport to describe his concept of field is helpful here. When a football players enter the game of football and onto the literal football field, there exists a certain set of rules the players must adhere to. There are also different positions within the game as each player’s positions plays a specific role. The position of the player within the field is determined by a distribution of power. The role that power plays is important in all social situations and in determining social behavior as Bourdieu (1985, p.13) describes:

The social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions that every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of coordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. Thus, agents are distributed within, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of the capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital.

A field has its own set of formal and informal rules, some known and some not known. Agents who are not accustomed to being in a specific field on a daily basis may not understand how that field operates. Individuals can enter in and out of multiple fields on a daily basis, and in each field, each individual brings their own habitus in the ways in which they interact with others. For the sake of this thesis, IV can encompass multiple fields: time spent with the host community and time spent with other volunteers can serve as distinct fields. Each field functions together and separately depending on the situation and each field contains its own doxa.

For Bourdieu, doxa is understood to represent the set of unspoken social rules which are associated within each field and that are agreed upon by the players (or agents) in each field. What is unique to the field of international volunteering, however, is that volunteers can enter this field unsure of the doxa or perhaps even unaware of what unspoken social rules currently exist in that field. Traveling to a foreign nation where volunteers bring their own senses of capital and habitus to a new field can present challenges, which can consequently influence

power structures. For example, what some volunteers may interpret to be poor or substandard living conditions may be considered normal in a developing nation. Further, how volunteers perceive the level of poverty of the host community could in turn influence the notion that the Western standard of living is superior, for example, and further perpetuate their sense of power and privilege of Western ideas and values.

In recognition of this, volunteers' judgments and interactions with others can be affected when they enter new fields unaware of the power relations and dynamics. Within IV and within a postcolonial context, these power differentials can be more pronounced and also confusing because of a lack of awareness or an unsureness of how to respond to them if volunteers are unaware of these power structures. Furthermore, many NGOs and sending organizations do not claim any political or religious affiliation, which may confuse the doxa. This means as volunteers from the West bring their own set of values and habitus with them into developing nations (a new field), there are influential elements that can influence this new social space or field.

In consideration of this influence, Bourdieu's notions of capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) are necessary to explore because they determine who carries power and privilege and how capital can promote social mobility, which is integral to this thesis. Capital is "accumulated labor in its materialized form or its incorporated embodied form which, when appropriated on a private or exclusive basis by agents or a group of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46). Bourdieu argues that it is impossible to imagine or account for the structure of the social world in which there is no capital. The forms of capital Bourdieu highlights are economic, cultural, and social.

Economic capital is the embodiment of material wealth and is directly convertible to money. Cultural capital refers to the symbolic resources that represent social status and may be

passed from generation to generation in middle or upper classes (Bourdieu, 1986). These can be assets, which are not necessarily material or contain financial value, but include education, lifestyle, and dress, for example. Additionally, cultural capital can manifest in the form of knowledge of valued aspects of culture. Social capital, broadly speaking, refers to the social networks and relationships in which potential assistance and resources may be drawn upon when needed. In other words, social capital is the expected collective understanding between groups of individuals aimed at economic benefits, and essentially emphasizes that organized groups of people have value and can impact productivity and also social mobility (Bourdieu, 1986). The capital volunteers have (in all forms) contributes toward the way volunteers act, dress, and behave socially, which can present IV in a paradoxical light in relation to interactions with the host community.

Bourdieu (1985) emphasized symbolic capital as another important concept for understanding the role that power plays because symbolic capital can be the transformation of economic, cultural, and social capital combined. Symbolic capital is “commonly called prestige, reputation, renown, etc., which is the form in which the different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1985, p.724). In other words, symbolic capital can be power demonstrated symbolically through the means by which the players of that field (or society as a whole) have associated value to it. For instance, when universities award degrees to individuals, these degrees become status symbols, and ultimately, they become symbols of capital and subsequently symbols of power. Bourdieu (1986, p.132) further explains that the “social world presents itself as a highly-structured reality.” By this, it is meant that individuals (i.e., agents) who have acquired economic capital and have the ability to perceive which material

possessions are associated with the different classes are more likely to play golf, for example, because of the way in which it associates them with upper-middle class status. In other words:

Via the distribution of certain properties, the social world presents itself, objectively, as a symbolic system which is organized in accordance with the logic of difference, of a differential variation. The social space tends to function as symbolic space, a space of life-styles and status groups, characterized by different life-styles (Bourdieu, 1986, p.133).

On that note, the forms of capital equate into resources of power. In Bourdieu's discussion of symbolic violence, the domination of one class over the other is what perpetuates the forms of symbolic capital. Thus, these forms of symbolic power can be possessed and wielded as a tool so that the dominating classes can stay in power, which is symbolic violence. In the example above, if the dominating class places value on degrees awarded by universities, this makes the award desirable for everyone. However, unless everyone is given equitable resources to access this desired goal, then it becomes something acquirable by the dominating class, which continues to keep the dominating class in power. In conjunction with symbolic violence or domination, the notion of misrecognition is relevant as it can contribute to symbolic violence.

Bourdieu (1998) defined misrecognition as a process where people believe that education is projected to improve human life condition. However, such education is taken for granted for that purpose but in reality, does not enable many people to improve their life. It only improves the life of certain privileged people. In that work, Bourdieu gave an example of how education can be an arena of exercising symbolic violence. Education creates a system to control but the system established in reality does reproduce social reproduction (Udasmoro, 2013 p.158).

It is important to explore Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and how they appear in the field of IV because volunteers may be under the assumption they are assisting in the 'good work' of service or 'making a difference,' but they could be doing more harm to the host community. In some cases, volunteers could exhibit a tendency to impose Western values or Western culture

upon the host community, which could create tension. This means that an awareness of their own identity, culture, and values may help volunteers to mitigate potential tensions.

Since values play a significant role in shaping experiences and vice versa, it is necessary to understand how Bourdieu's different forms of capital, especially cultural capital, can accompany volunteers and how their capital is understood. An example of the role capital can play in the field of IV is the sense of uneven stability between modernization and tradition that shapes values. Capital positions people differently in terms of social power; this plays out in IV settings and daily through volunteers' development projects. For example, when Western volunteers arrive to stay with a host community, they hold some level of power simply by their economic capital, which provided the means of being able to travel great lengths. Moreover, they bring with them all the manifestations of that capital (e.g., nice cameras, personal hygiene equipment, and clothing) and can come and go as they please. All of these forms of capital represent a strong sense of power within the Western volunteers including a value system that places great emphasis on material wealth and the freedom of choice. The ability to travel abroad underscores a sense of great power and privilege. In addition, the notion of helping a host community via a service project assists in establishing power relations. Therefore, a recognition of this position of power, specifically within the habitus, can help the volunteer to realize how their capital may be perceived by the host community.

In summary, Bourdieu's framework on the macro level helps illuminate some of the pitfalls of IV. While Bourdieu does not explicitly address IV, the unavoidable cultural differences between value systems of volunteers and host communities underpin the idea that varied international volunteer work may very well be paradoxical. Power, economic status, and access to resources (i.e., all things which the West brings with them to developing nations) can

carry significant implications for those engaging in IV. In this case, Western developed societies are the dominating class and the developing nation is the dominated class whereby the values of the West are being imposed on the developing nation, which can be a form of symbolic violence. Moreover, the words ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ carry connotations of dominating and dominated classes, which can perpetuate power structures. Having introduced Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, it is necessary to next explore Mezirow’s theoretical framework about transformation and the meaning that volunteers make of their experiences in IV.

Jack Mezirow and Meaning-making

Personal transformation and how this looks on an individual level for volunteers is the heart of this thesis, hence a theoretical discussion about transformation opens a space to further explore the personal and individualized ways IV experiences may contribute to personal transformation. Part of the reason why this discussion is important is because the way in which volunteers make meaning of their experiences can signal the ways in which IV programs could be designed with a social justice ideology as well as practices in mind. Discussed later in this chapter are some of the concerns related to IV, therefore, knowing about how volunteers make meaning of their experiences may also illuminate the ways in which IV may be an unethical means of experiencing transformation.

In this light, the theoretical framework Mezirow provides explores the ways in which IV can be a transformational experience for volunteers. In the way that Bourdieu’s concepts provide a strong sociological foundation for understanding the forces that shape unequal power structures, including those potentially embedded in IV, Mezirow’s concepts provide a strong educational foundation to understand the process of meaning-making and transformation within volunteers. Considering also that IV programs may be designed with the volunteer’s growth and

personal transformation in mind, Mezirow's Transformational Learning Theory (TLT) (alongside Bourdieu's) provide a strong theoretical backbone to the thesis.

The key concepts Mezirow developed in his early work derived from his study of adult women undergoing a re-entry process into higher education after they had spent time away from higher education. This early research was completed in the US during the 1970s and the aim was to explore factors that impeded or facilitated the re-entry process for the women in the study. Mezirow (1978) discovered that the participants experienced some level of transformation once they essentially became aware of their own habitus. When they realized that they could be successful at work and school after time off, despite what they were told by their peers about continuing their education, they became empowered. This eventually led to the development of Mezirow's ten original transformation phases:

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. A self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame
3. A critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions
4. Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared and that others have negotiated a similar change
5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning of a course of action
7. Acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
8. Provisional trying of new roles
9. Building of competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
10. A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's perspective

Working from this original list, Mezirow situates the first four phases as leading up to the point of change and phases five – ten refer to the actual steps implemented to move toward transformation (Mezirow, 1991). While this original list has evolved over time undergoing several adaptations, it was Mezirow's initial work that opened the door to an ever growing and evolving field of transformational learning. Inasmuch as Mezirow has adapted TLT, other theorists have developed it in a variety of directions (Finnegan, 2013). For the purposes of this

thesis, the focus remains on Mezirow's TLT. In addition to the ten phases Mezirow developed, other key elements of his theory have emerged in the transformation discourse, and are useful to assist in explaining the personal transformation volunteers may undergo due to IV. In an effort to illuminate the value these elements provide to this thesis, they are discussed next more in depth.

Beginning broadly, Mezirow's transformational learning is grounded in critical self-reflection, which emphasizes the role of the learner to take responsibility for their own learning through their level of engagement in reflection. With this in mind, transformational learning is "an enhanced level of awareness of the context of one's beliefs and feelings, a critique of one's assumptions, and particularly premises, and an assessment of alternative perspectives" (1991a, p.161). How do individuals arrive at a place where their awareness of their own beliefs and assumptions become critical enough to warrant a transformation? Mezirow suggests that transformational learning is about how meaning is made in the form of seeing an experience in a new light. Dirkx & Smith (2009) emphasize that transformational learning goes past mastering content like studying for an exam and beckons the learner to reconsider their frames of reference.

Mezirow's (1985, p.21) meaning perspective (also referred to as frames of reference), refers to "the structure of cultural and psychological assumptions within which our past experience assimilates and transforms new experience." In this way, meaning perspectives are like the larger frames of reference, which are the result of cultural assimilation and are highly influenced by primary caregivers. Meaning perspectives are more grounded and not easily shifted, according to Mezirow, but consist of smaller frames that Mezirow calls meaning schemes, which are "the constellation of concept, belief, judgment, and feeling which shapes a particular interpretation" (Mezirow, 1985 p.21). In other words, these are the smaller nuanced ways that are built upon one another to construct a meaning perspective. Understanding meaning

schemes is helpful to this thesis because it means that volunteers must first recognize their own beliefs, judgments and feelings in an effort to realize how these beliefs, judgments, and feelings have come to support their meaning perspectives. In a sense, both of these theoretical concepts are the building blocks for transformation. Volunteers arguably cannot begin to experience transformation if they have not reflected upon or come to recognize the meaning schemes and perspectives that have framed their views, embodied their assumptions, and subsequently, their understandings of the world.

Following meaning perspectives are habits of the mind. Similarly to the way meaning schemes fit into a meaning perspective, points of view stem from the habits of the mind, which symbolize the recognition of more deeply embodied points of view.

Habits of mind are broad, abstract, orientating, habitual ways of thinking, feeling, and acting influenced by assumptions that constitute a set of codes. These codes may be cultural, social, educational, economic, political, or psychological. Habits of mind become articulated in a specific point of view – the constellation of belief, value, judgment, attitude, and feeling that shapes a particular interpretation. An example of a habit of mind is ethnocentrism, the predisposition to regard others outside one's own group as inferior. A resulting point of view is the complex of feelings, beliefs, judgments, and attitudes we have regarding specific individuals or groups (Mezirow, 1997, p.6).

In the same way that meaning perspectives are made up of meaning schemes, for Mezirow, habits of mind are made up of points of view, which “are more accessible to awareness and to feedback from others.” Habits of mind are more “durable than points of view...subject to continuing change as we reflect on either the content or process by which we solved problems and identify the need to modify assumptions” (Mezirow, 1997, p.6). This means, for example, when volunteers try to understand something that did not transpire in the way they had imagined or expected, be it a cultural misunderstanding or issue, a modification of their point of view is needed. Points of view are less durable in the sense they can be modified more easily, which is a necessary step in the transformational process. Moreover, points of view are important as it

relates to transformation because it can signal how volunteers may begin to make meaning and enter into early personal transformation due to a modification of a point of view. For example, when volunteers experience a disorienting dilemma, they can try to appropriate another point of view in order to understand or explain the disorienting dilemma; however, Mezirow emphasizes that this openness to understanding a new point of view cannot occur in the habit of mind stage.

Mezirow gives an example of a habit of mind, ethnocentrism, which can result in the perspective (point of view) of beliefs and judgments that place one's ethnic group as superior to someone else's group. In the case of this example, if IV programs are designed to lessen or challenge a habit of mind such as ethnocentrism, then the beliefs and judgments that have led to the support of the notion of ethnocentrism must be challenged first. This means that addressing points of view are critical because they are the inaugural point of transformation which meaning-making begins to shape.

With that in mind, another element of Mezirow's theory addresses subjective reframing. Subjective reframing requires deeper reflection and is beyond a change in a point of view because it is where previously taken for granted assumptions, norms, and roles (the habitus) are reflected upon and modified. As mentioned previously, if habitus is essentially the social history that informs volunteers' actions, awareness of their habitus may influence their predisposition to transformation. Moreover, Mezirow (2000) posits that the idea that knowledge or awareness does not always indicate the power to take action, but rather the power to understand is important to differentiate in terms of transformation. "The most personally significant transformations involve a critique of premises regarding the world and one's self. A transformative learning experience requires that the learner make an informed and reflective decision to act or not" (Mezirow, 2000, p.22).

If volunteers are practicing a reflexive approach to IV, they arguably may come to be aware of their embodied assumptions, for example and this could be a trigger for a disorienting dilemma. A critical component of Mezirow's theoretical framework and the first step in his original list of the ten phases, a disorienting dilemma, is particularly helpful to this thesis because many of the participants in thesis expressed some level of confusion, many times referring to a specific dilemma during their IV experience.

A disorienting dilemma can be a stressful situation, an overwhelming experience, or an identity crisis (Mezirow, 1978). Regardless of how the dilemma presents itself, the outcome demands a sense of reflection in that the individual must bring into question why the dilemma is occurring. In this way, a sense of disorientation makes it difficult to find one's sense of groundedness. Roberts (1996) suggests that this sense of disorientation becomes evident because previously held beliefs or values that were once considered sacred become questioned. When this lack of groundedness becomes clear, an individual may engage in critical reflection on their previously held assumptions. For volunteers who are in a new physical environment and experiencing a new culture of the host community, it is likely that they have to contend with disorienting dilemmas in which they begin to bring into question their previously held beliefs.

These disorienting dilemmas can stir myriad of emotions, which according to Taylor (2000), provides the impetus to engage in critical self-reflection. In the case of Mezirow's (1978) initial study on women re-entering higher education, he found that a disorienting dilemma created a sense of fear in the participants. In the case of IV volunteers, as these kinds of emotions begin to stir, the outcome will vary based on the willingness of the volunteer to engage with themselves and to engage with why the dilemma may be occurring. A volunteer may come to realize something specific about themselves in their experience with a host community, such as

recognition of their position of privilege or their acquired capital, and this may be overwhelming as the volunteer reflects on how they have come to be in a position of power.

Similarly to Bourdieu's theoretical framework, Mezirow (1991) reiterates that personal growth and development is in part dependent upon access to social power and resources, which compliments Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital as a means to acquiring power. When volunteers enter the field of IV, not only do they bring their habitus with them, but their economic, cultural, and social capital, which has previously influenced their habitus, accompanies them as well. As they interact with other volunteers and locals in the host community, they can begin to understand where they sit in relation to their acquired capital and then understand their own sense of power. For Mezirow, social power is derived from the ability to access resources for the purpose of personal transformation.

As volunteers enter the field of international volunteering just as they would enter the field of school or work, they bring their habitus with them, which will inevitably influence the way they perceive and make meaning of not only their experience, but also the role they have played within their experience. Mezirow (1991) suggests that if learners rationalize a new point of view based on a learning experience, but do not engage in ongoing critical reflection, then transformation likely cannot occur. Mezirow (1991) indicates it is in the moment that volunteers begin to question how their senses of habitus are formed that transformation begins to occur.

A body of literature exists about effective learning strategies and pedagogies for learners in addition to Mezirow. Some are strategically aimed at transformation as a means of creating a culture of 'conscience raising' demonstrated in the early work of Paolo Freire (1970), which has influenced the "development of a critical perspective in adult education" (Dirkx, 1998, p.1). Exploring adult education in the US, Dirkx explains that much of it is guided by what he calls an

“instrumental” view of how learning occurs, and specifically one intentionally designed to foster personal transformation (Dirkx, 1998, p.1). While Freire’s work was aimed at liberation efforts in poor communities in Latin America and Africa with the intention to increase the literacy rate whilst also combating forms of oppression, the influence of Freire on Mezirow is clear:

To make meaning means to make sense of an experience; we make an interpretation of it. When we subsequently use this interpretation to guide decision-making or action, then making meaning becomes learning. We learn differently when we are learning to perform than when we are learning to understand what is being communicated to us. Reflection enables us to correct distortions in our beliefs and errors in problem solving. Critical reflection involves a critique of the presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built. Mezirow (1990, p.1)

As this thesis is aimed at understanding this critical component of meaning-making, Mezirow’s above quote is pertinent in exploring how international volunteers experience different degrees of transformation because transformation informs their interpretation of their experience, which can ultimately inform their decision-making or action. Furthermore, as Mezirow suggests, critical reflection is the key element and arguably the trigger for transformation.

In addition to Freire, according to Knollenberg et al (2014), Mezirow’s early conceptualizations of his theory of transformational learning (TLT) were influenced by Kuhn’s emphasis on frames of reference as well as Habermas’ emphasis on domains of learning. Grounded in varying dimensions of social existence such as work, interaction, and power, Habermas’ three cognitive learning domains focus on instrumental (work), communicative (interaction), and transformative (power) (Mezirow, 1981). TLT arguably found its roots based on the epistemology of Habermas’ communicative theory, which according to Cranton (2002, p.64) is concerned with “the understanding of ourselves, others, and the social norms of the community or society in which we live.” Habermas’ influence on Mezirow makes sense because it is within this space that we learn to interpret the meanings behind words and adjust their

interpretation based on the ideas of others. In other words, if a volunteer creates new meaning schemes based on their experience with the host community and other volunteers, this can be the first step towards a transformation of their meaning perspective.

While other theoretical works have influenced Mezirow and even other theories about transformational learning have been developed, such as Boyd's (1988) theory of transformative education, Mezirow's theory was most appropriate for this thesis because of the emphasis on reflection in Mezirow's own version of the concept of habitus (habits of mind) and how it shares many parallels to Bourdieu's concept. Moreover, Mezirow holds that meaning exists based on each individual, which means that his idea of meaning-making is situated comfortably within a constructionist paradigm (discussed in chapter four). Within this paradigm, Mezirow posits that an emphasis on reflection is key for transformation, making Mezirow's theoretical framework a good epistemological match for this thesis.

Considering Mezirow's emphasis on reflection as a good match for this thesis, Coghlan and Gooch (2011), using TLT as a theoretical framework, also explored how IV can be a transformational experience for international volunteers. Noting how volunteers have recently emerged within the tourism sector, they highlight the ways that volunteer tourism fits within Mezirow's framework, but how certain important aspects have yet to be embraced by IV organizations. Using Sipos, Battisti, and Grimm's (2008) model of concentric circles (head, hands, and heart), Coghlan and Gooch (2011) suggest that while IV organizations have generally focused the emphasis on the head and hands component (i.e. designing a program, building a classroom), the emphasis on the heart component (i.e. experiencing connection, reflecting on values) has largely been absent. Coghlan and Gooch (2011) caution that some IV programs may fall short of their design to transform volunteers into better global citizens through a shift in

consciousness, or a shift in durable dispositions. This may signal that a focus on more heart-centered approaches to IV is needed in order to foster the kinds of transformation organizations hope to inspire.

With this in mind, as well as the theoretical concepts of Mezirow, it is clear that an emphasis on how reflection is exercised is an important component of transformation. A phrase that I often hear educators use in and out of the classroom when engaging their students to be reflective and analytical is, “What were the takeaways for you?” This question can encourage students to reflect on what elements of their experience were the ones worth remembering, how they might make meaning of it, and, ultimately, which parts were meaningful enough to take away with them in their lives. This means that meaning-making in relation to reflection should be a paramount feature of IV for transformation to occur. When engaged in critical self-reflection, IV may offer critical thinking skills as a result of international volunteering “due to the ways in which culture, language, religion, and beliefs are under constant challenge in foreign settings” (Kraft, 2002 p.308). Reflection is arguably the most important component of the meaning-making process in order for transformation to occur. In this way, IV may contribute to human growth and development by increasing levels of “maturity, self-confidence, self-awareness, and independence spurring on personal reflection” (Sherraden et al., 2008 p.409). This can carry relevant implications for those volunteers in a highly developmental stage of life, and according to Sherraden et al (2008, p.409), it is highly likely that IV is a “transformative experience in the lives of volunteers.”

A reflexive approach to meaning-making of IV imperative for transformation needs structure, according to Reisinger (2013). In her discussion on the process of meaning-making in volunteers, she argues that the meaning of any specific experience can only be understood in the

motion of the context in which it occurs. In other words, meaning can be processed best in the context with which the experience takes place. Further, Reisinger (2013) emphasizes that transformation of meanings or consciousness can take place in any setting if the individual is ready for change. For volunteers engaged in IV, this means that if they have the contextual foundation and have engaged in critical reflection, transformation is possible.

In summary, the theoretical framework provided by Mezirow is key in the exploration of meaning-making and transformation. The synthesis of both theoretical frameworks (discussed further in chapter seven) considers the larger sociological underpinnings instrumental in illuminating how personal transformation occurs. The exploration of meaning-making addresses the nuanced ways that the personal transformation of volunteers and how their experiences inform debates on the contributions IV can make global justice awareness. While the question of meaning is central in this thesis, the question remains in what ways do volunteers navigate and perceive this process of meaning-making, and how does it influence their personal transformation in terms of fostering awareness about global in/justice? With this question in mind, the next section discusses the relevant debates facing IV, which are centered on a sense of responsibility, and the paradox of IV.

The Debate Over Responsibility

As this thesis set out to explore the ways in which volunteers from developed societies make meaning of their experiences in developing societies, the initial question of why someone from a developed society may feel a sense responsibility to engage with a host community in a developing society needs to be considered. Given the historical influence of colonialism and development discussed in the previous chapter, do Western individuals have a responsibility to foreign Others in developing societies, and if so, could IV be an appropriate response to some of

the pressing issues occurring in developing societies? These are some of the difficult questions this key debate explores, recognizing in advance there can be multiple responses.

The debate over responsibility for this thesis, in short, is about a sense of responsibility for foreign Others and how it may become manifested through IV. It contributes to the overarching thesis question because part of this debate is the exploration of why Western volunteers choose to engage with the developing world. Knowing from where the debate over responsibility emerges and how it is situated can ultimately contribute to understanding the ways in which Western volunteers may come to identify with a sense of responsibility, which in turn can tell us something about the meaning they make. In doing so, this discussion addresses how a shared consciousness, a culture of care, and personal agency are connected to notions of care and responsibility.

Using these concepts, the debate over responsibility is specifically explored through the individual role of the volunteer, who, to some degree, has elected to ‘take responsibility’ or ‘make a difference’ through the act of volunteering. While the roles government agencies during development as well as the recognition of the influence of the media (to assist in the exposure to the suffering of others) were introduced in the previous chapter, the focus of this debate is about how individuals take responsibility. Exposure to the perceived plight of others and engagement to assist in the alleviation of this plight can signpost towards a sense of individual responsibility. This may reflect how the macro level influences (neoliberalism, globalization, the media) can influence a growing culture of individuals who identify with Giddens’ (1991) discussion of life politics, “where globalizing influences intrude deeply into the reflexive project of the self” (Connolly & Prothero, 2008, p.121).

Beginning broadly, the notion of a shared consciousness (or collective consciousness) dates back to Emile Durkheim (1893), who first used the phrase in his book The Division of Labor in Society to explain how autonomous individuals come together to identify with a different societal structure even if they are not originally part of that group. For example, it could be argued that as volunteers become aware of issues abroad or if they go abroad and build relationships with individuals in the host community, their shared consciousness may increase, which, in turn may affect the degree to which they feel a sense of responsibility to act.

Since this thesis is concerned specifically with how volunteers make meaning and specifically, if volunteers identify with a sense of responsibility, they could develop strong transnational ties to more than one home country, which, according to Levitt & Schiller (2004 p.596), may blur the “congruence of social space and geographic space.” If volunteers are developing strong ties in other places, then it raises questions about national identity, citizenship, agency, and culture, and the sense of responsibility towards foreign places.

In this light, Said’s notions of citizenship and identity discussed earlier are better realized. Theoretically, notions of citizenship are tied to a nation and therefore individual identity may be intertwined in the culture of the nation in which the individual is a citizen (Said, 1993). This sense of citizenship or duty to one’s nation and the culture of that nation help to explain Said’s notions of Orient vs. Occident, which in turn can illuminate some of the unequal relations because of the West’s assertion of implied knowledge about the Orient. To expand, Said (1978) poses that the West (Occident) has come to understand the East (Orient) inadequately because the West has filled in the gaps about what it does not understand about the East, essentially seeing what the West wants to see and reinforcing the notion of the Other.

Framing this within a cultural context is relevant because it has implications for Western volunteers who travel to non-Western nations. If volunteers bring the assumption that their Western ideas of the non-West are universal ideas, then this assumption may impact their scope of work and the meaning they make. Since volunteers generally come from Western capitalistic societies to engage in volunteer work in culturally different places, non-Western values may surface and influence perceptions of the host community, perhaps negatively. On one hand, the Western values of volunteers versus the non-Western values of some host communities may illuminate the larger scale global inequality, which in turn may influence a sense of responsibility in volunteers. On the other hand, however, Ballie Smith and Laurie (2011) question if IV is no more than just another notch on a CV for volunteers if they have strong values rooted in individualized citizenship, which may not be necessarily compatible with a sense of responsibility.

In his critical analysis of global citizenship, Dower (2002) suggests it is made up of moral and institutional components further suggesting that global citizenship can be connected to a sense of responsibility because of a moral obligation to another. A sense of moral obligation implies some kind of shared consciousness, and IV can be a way in which this shared consciousness blurs traditional notions of citizenship. Jandt (2010) suggests that as the movement of people across borders increases, so do questions related to identity, citizenship, and allegiance. With these kinds of questions in mind, the role of how the individual responds to the Other in terms of communication need to be considered. Jandt (2010, p.xix) further suggests that “the study of intercultural communication can be said to be about the definition of self that results from an awareness of a shared consciousness with others”

This idea of a shared consciousness is relevant for individual volunteers in the debate over responsibility because it is arguably through this sense of shared consciousness that a desire to care for others is founded. This means that cultural globalization needs to be considered as it lends itself broadly to building on this sense of shared consciousness. While chapter two discussed globalization in terms of economic development and the influence of a neoliberal ideology, globalization in terms of cultural development means there is an exchange or flow of values, ideas, and expressions across borders. In the way that the contextual framework of chapter two signals to the larger structure of development and responsibility, the theoretical framework of this chapter signals to the more individual and personal exchanges. Bekkers (2005) suggests that the reasons why people choose to engage civically can range greatly between many different factors from advocating on behalf of political interests to finding meaning in life, from increasing competitiveness in the job market to contributing to the well-being of others. These varying reasons contribute broadly to notions of progress, whether for the self or the other, implying that the volunteer may have come to believe they can be part of the progress of a host community or developing nation, whether that means assisting in poverty alleviation or providing a needed service.

The role poverty may play in the debates about individual responsibility also bears mentioning. The responsibility to assist impoverished people abroad is situated in the acceptance that global poverty remains prevalent in much of the global South (Crocker, 2008). It is estimated that 896 million people globally are living in poverty (World Bank, 2012). According to the United Nations, in 2015, 1.5 million children suffered from diarrhea-related dehydration, eventually leading to their deaths. While these numbers are decreasing, Mandle (2000) suggests their deaths could have prevented had they had access to a 15-cent rehydration pack. This

example is emphasized to raise the question of who should take responsibility in solving simple crises such as this one: the state or the individual? Issues like these call into question the fairness of distribution and the extent to which those who have access to such resources are responsible, and if that includes wealthy Western individuals.

Given this example, how does a volunteer come to feel a sense of responsibility, and if they do, should it be their role manifest as engaging in IV? These questions are not easily answered signaling how the sense of responsibility can carry confusing messages for current or future volunteers who genuinely desire to assist with issues in developing nations, but do not know the appropriate response. Mandle (2000) suggests if privileged individuals have a sense of responsibility not to impose starvation on foreign Others, for example, this must also be reflected in their attempts to change institutional structures. This means that in terms of finding a solution for identifying with sense of responsibility, individuals could potentially lobby their own governments to take greater action to respond to such issues as child mortality or starvation. While structural or sociopolitical change is necessary to create lasting, sustainable, or long-term change, this question this thesis explores is about personal change. In other words, the questions beckon: while sociopolitical change may very well be necessary, what can be done at a more grassroots levels and where do volunteers or voluntourists fit within the framework of responsible action?

According to Scheyvens (2010), one way that taking responsibility could be achieved is through ethical tourism. Scheyvens emphasizes that since the 1990s, a push to create pro poor tourism (PPT) has encouraged new approaches to tourism, and she notes that 40% of tourist markets are now in developing nations. “My main interest in examining the potential contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation is based on the fundamental belief that the

continued presence of high levels of inequality and poverty in our world is an affront to humanity” (Scheyvens, 2011, p.15). This continued sense of global inequality and poverty may be reiterated through processes connected to global capitalism or neoliberal ideologies.

In a similar vein to Scheyvens, Sin (2010) questions responsible tourism by highlighting the positive sentiments generally associated with voluntourism, and how it can be framed under the guise of social responsibility. Sin emphasizes that in the more developed societies, everywhere people go they are encouraged to practice responsible living.

In the developed world at least, moral exhortations are at every other corner telling us to be more socially responsible, more environmentally friendly, or more caring towards the less privileged. From corporate marketing materials to responsible consumption campaigns, messages of social responsibility are blasted at us from all directions – whether we are the mass-market consumer, the policy-making official, or the business decision-maker (Sin 2010, p.983).

In this light, the debates about responsibility can be partially understood as an effort to focus on care for the Other in the ways in which consumption is handled recognizing that how one nation consumes (or wastes) could affect the livelihood of people in other nations. Moreover, framing responsibility around Western ideas related to material consumerism implies that taking responsibility might look like providing materials for consumption to the global South: “This contemporary sense of global concern is the product of imagined geographies founded on the webs of material connection that link the lives of privileged Westerners to materially deprived others in different parts of the world” (Sin, 2010, p.984 quoting Lester, 2002, p.277).

This kind of view of responsibility suggests that IV can carry patriarchal undertones because of the privileged position many volunteers come from. In turn, this implies that the root of the sense of responsibility in IV is to care for those perceived as less fortunate, linking IV to some degree to commodification because if IV can be purchased, than it means it is being purchased under the partial disguise of responsibility. It could also mean that those from Western

societies may likely identify with Western reason, Western values, and Western approaches, emphasizing a more patriarchal approach. That said, in the spirit of taking individual responsibility, volunteers need to be aware of how their volunteering may be perceived as a tool for helping ‘unfortunate others,’ but also as a commodity that they purchased.

Drawing on postcolonial theory, Noxolo, Raghuram, & Madge (2012, p.418) address responsibility in terms of the “specificities of transnational inter-relationships between different people, places and spaces.” Echoing similar concerns to Sin (2010), they maintain that notions of responsibility have primarily been limited to those speaking about it and those called to take responsibility. This means that the power to think about and ultimately the power to take responsibility has traditionally been in the hands of a wealthy few from developed societies, or, those already in a position of power. For those engaged in IV, who generally come from developed societies, recognition of their disposition of power may be the first step towards taking individual responsibility.

Cordbridge’s (1998) discussion recognizes the pitfalls of development but also draws attention to the ways in which it has paid attention to a distant Other in the spirit of responsibility, progress, and reason. The good that development has been able to accomplish cannot be discounted or undone by the bad it also accomplished, according to Corbridge (1998). In this light, a sense of responsibility may be tied to development in the way in which it may equate to ethical care and responsibility to distant others. While this thesis situates international volunteers as actors loosely within the workings of the dominant discourse of development, it is necessary to recognize that volunteers may not always perceive themselves as key players in development even if they identify with a sense of individual responsibility.

Noxolo et al (2012, p. 419) stress that debates about responsibility has become “an ethical disposition that offers a way of taking account of inequalities and confronting power in a profoundly unequal postcolonial world.” Reiterating Kwadwo’s (2009) argument, Noxolo et al (2012) go on to suggest that the great tragedy of colonialism was the way a sense of agency was taken from those being colonized. In this light, responsibility towards developing nations could be about the empowerment of formerly colonized people through the assertion of their renewed sense of agency (INSERT REFERENCE). The emphasis on restoring a sense of agency to individuals in a host community as an act of responsibility, however, carries an interesting relationship in this thesis because volunteers who identify with a sense of responsibility towards foreign Others are acting in their own agency. If individual responsibility could be about restoring a sense of agency to those it was taken from, then perhaps a recognition of the privileged position of power and agency the volunteer acquires is a good first step in the right direction.

In that spirit of global justice, however, whether and in what ways volunteers can assist with helping to restore a sense of agency to those in a host community is questionable. Moreover, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore how a sense of agency could be restored to host communities, but it is worth mentioning because it recognizes the possibility for a new kind of responsibility to be more socially justice focused. In terms of personal responsibility and on a more practical level for volunteers, framing the debate over responsibility as a form of galvanizing social justice may be revealed better in the form of ethical consumption. Sin (2010) situates caring for foreign Others from a distance within human geography, emphasizing the increasing ways in which the world is shrinking in the sense that our global communities are becoming broader. With that in mind, the debates about responsibility for IV

are related to the care given to distant others based on the idea “that people ought to recognize sameness or close similarity between their ‘selves’ and ‘others’ as human beings” (Sin, 2010, p.985). In this light, this may help to situate where individual volunteers are as actors in how they exercise care for foreign Others.

In summary, the debates about responsibility can be highly charged and reflects the complex relationships of postcolonial and post development discourses (Noxolo et al, 2012). Regardless of the multi-faceted debate around who may or may not be responsible for caring for the poor in the global South, volunteers are nonetheless engaging with host communities (many of which are impoverished) in altruistic efforts to make a difference. How volunteers respond to a sense of foreign Otherness can indicate how they may or may not identify with a sense of responsibility.

This section explored how volunteers are connected to notions of individual responsibility through a shared consciousness with others, be it inter-culturally or intra-culturally, and how this shared sense of consciousness may invoke a sense of responsibility.

The Paradox of International Volunteering

With notions of responsibility in mind, the exploration of IV as a means of personal transformation in relation to global justice appears to be a paradoxical phenomenon, and arguably an ethical dilemma. The word paradox can take on several meanings; however, here it refers to the irony or audacity of a concept such as international volunteering. IV programs continue to grow each year among mostly Western volunteers who have been afforded the means to take time off work or study to travel. The privileged ability to engage in IV points to the broader structural shifts partly enabled by a neoliberal ideology and growing global capitalism, which have increased opportunities for those with the economic means to volunteer abroad. It

also points to broader cultural shifts, which reflect a mindset that presumes IV is an inherently effective practice, and noble endeavor to gain cultural and international experience in a global economy. Both avenues of tourism and service contribute to this paradox, and this section discusses some specific ways this is revealed, demonstrating the fragmented and complex nature of IV, recognizing the role sending organizations may contribute to this paradox.

Beginning broadly, Bussell and Forbes (2002) identified altruism as a primary reason for volunteering, relating altruism to the selfless motives of a volunteer, or a desire to participate in goodwill activities on an international level out of compassion for others. Bussell and Forbes (2002, p.246) suggest that in order to be considered a volunteer, “altruism must be the central motive where the reward is intrinsic to the act of volunteering.” The role altruism plays in IV is a relevant component of this thesis because many young volunteers believe they can be of help. In other words, altruism in IV by itself is somewhat paradoxical because it may falsely assume that positive change is inevitable. If volunteers engage in IV with the assumption they will make a difference, and then discover afterwards they have not made a substantial difference, they may question their experience, which can be personally paradoxical.

There is a large body of information on the ethics of tourism, ecotourism, and sustainable tourism in relation to lifestyle, travel, and leisure that is helpful in understanding the paradox. Benson and Wearing (2012, p.245) suggest that volunteer tourism can be categorized separately from mass tourism, noting, “It is obvious that it has evolved around a set of ideals that may or may not realize a more altruistic outcome.” Wearing and McGehee (2013) provide a wealth of knowledge about what have labeled international volunteer tourism (IVT), and situate it comfortably within tourism. Positioning IV within the tourism sector can be helpful to determine

the potential ways it could fall into the traps of mass tourism or paradoxically, could cause damage to the communities they seek to aid.

One way this paradox presents itself is in how cross-cultural experiences have become marketed and advertised. Specifically, Moufakkir and Burns (2012) highlight controversies in tourism by pointing to examples of places that have become tourist hotspots, and the role of tourist companies and the local government to bring culture to these destinations in an attempt to attract tourist money. In one instance, the Mayan Riviera just south of Cancun, Mexico was used to attract tourists to not only the beautiful beaches, but also to the Mayan culture, implying that a cross-cultural experience is marketable (Moufakkir & Burns, 2012). Although this example is explicitly related to tourism, it is mentioned because in the same way that tourism companies have exploited a geographically beautiful area by marketing it as a desirable destination for tourism, IV organizations may unwittingly exploit poverty by marketing exotic destinations where poor host communities reside. According to Scheyvens (2010), this kind of marketing could lead toward the harmful end of her spectrum.

In addition to the ethical question of marketing poverty or poor host communities as destinations, the actual volunteer work projects may also be harmful in the way it impacts or disrupts the lives of those in the host community (Scheyvens, 2011). For example, Western values and cultural differences may not always produce effective outcomes in the sense that Western volunteers tend to bring (and potentially impose) their Western ideas, values, and culture with them into the host community. This means in addition to the potential to exploit poverty, good intentions do not always equal good results. Furthermore, 'service' to a host community in a long-term or sustainable manner is often overlooked by IV programs. As volunteers engage in acts of service in host communities, they may believe they are helping or

making a lasting difference, but it may only serve to make them feel better. If their presence in the host community is actually more harmful than helpful and volunteers are not aware of this, they could return to their homes believing they made a lasting positive impact.

In his exploration of travel as a means of transformation, Morgan (2010) explains:

It is often considered axiomatic that travel broadens the mind and, consequently, that travel has implicit educative benefit. From the European Grand Tour, which started in the mid-17th century to the contemporary phenomenon of the Gap Year, privileged young people have been encouraged to undertake edifying journeys in the expectation that they will return wiser and better equipped to take on the responsibilities of adult life. More specifically, many contemporary educational programs now seek to integrate opportunities to study abroad or to undertake study tours, which are often billed as having personal and social as well as academic benefits (Morgan, 2010, p.247).

In consideration of this quest for moral meaning, in 2006, the British-based NGO Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), warned against the serious implications of the flourishing gap year and short-term programs. VSO suggested that some programs may be neocolonial in the sense they could further emphasize an attitude of ‘it’s all about us’ due to the focus on short-term helping as opposed to emphasis on sustainable growth or cross-cultural understanding. In addition to gap year programs, other programs are also faith-based and mission-oriented, which has also received criticism in the way that framing IV with evangelism in mind could be opposing to certain host communities.

These kinds of programs could further promote the idea that IV not only may be neocolonial, but also is “dominated by the value of Western ‘good intentions’” (Simpson, 2004 p.690). Moreover, gap year programs specifically must be very carefully organized in conjunction with a strong “social justice pedagogy” (Simpson, 2004, p.690). If gap year programs do not take into account the impact on the host community, the paradox becomes the way in which IV may be an unjust practice in the name of justice.

Wearing and McGehee (2013) also provide a framework to understand how the situatedness of IV within tourism may be better distinguished through an emphasis on a desire for authenticity, which this thesis argues is made possible through a stronger focus on service. By working with a host community without financial compensation, voluntourism is distinguishable from tourism because of its “opportunities to negotiate the fundamental conditions of existence, and therefore modes of authenticity” (Wearing and McGehee, 2013, p. 111). In other words, through acts of voluntary service, a more authentic interaction between volunteer and host is capable as opposed to mass tourism, where there is a social barrier that sets the tourist apart from those ‘being toured.’

At the same time, IV can challenge traditional notions of the tourist gaze from afar through reciprocal relations through the act of service, or by “leaping in” for the Other. Referencing Heidegger (1927/1962), Wearing and McGehee’s (2013) discussion about authenticity implicitly points to the potential of IV as paradoxical because through the act of “leaping in” for the Other, volunteers may act “for the other in a position of control” (Wearing and McGehee, 2013, p.111). In this light, the situatedness of IV in service also seems to strike a paradoxical chord if leaping in can remove a sense agency from the host community.

Similarly to service-learning, IV can be designed with the volunteer’s experience in mind. This means that through the act of assisting a host community through an implementation of a service project, such as a building a classroom, digging a well, or teaching language skills, the volunteer is positioned as an active learner in a new culture. Through their acts of service, they are gaining an experience as well as cultural capital that arguably could not be gained through mass tourism. While this can positively influence the ways volunteers come to understand their own growth and development, using the act of service to another (poor host

community) raises similar concerns discussed previously about service-learning. For example, if a service becomes an exercise in patronization as Pompa (2002) suggested, IV may perpetuate unequal power relations that do not promote social justice because of the emphasis on the self or identity of the self.

On an identity level, the meaning volunteers make of themselves because of their IV experience may stay with them the rest of their lives, even if years later they forget the needs of the host community or what projects they accomplished. With this focus on identity development in mind, some IV programs capitalize on volunteers eager to engage in self-discovery and the quest for moral meaning. While this may seem noble, the notion of serving poor others in the hopes of discovering the self or for personal transformation raises concerns about the motivation and implementation of such programs.

In a congested university-educated marketplace, some educational institutions may also use the opportunity to participate in IV to attract students. Such experiences offer a means for the student to build up their CV in an effort to help distinguish them when it comes time to find a job after graduation. But institutions and IV organizations cannot take all the blame for designing programs with self-motivating outcomes in mind. IV participants are many times themselves seeking personal transformation via IV, which reflects Butcher and Smith's (2015) argument highlighting that the shift of IV and GSL has become a quest for individual moral meaning.

At its worst, IV can be "imperialist, paternalistic charity, or a self-serving quest for career and personal development on the part of well off Westerners" (Devereux, 2008 p.358). Naturally, this raises questions about how each organization operates and how they practice social justice. Given this critique, the paradox of IV becomes increasingly convoluted. For proponents, IV becomes about the potential for personal growth and development of the

volunteer in the sense that they leverage their experience abroad in a host community to learn about global in/justice. For critics, broadly speaking, IV can become an avenue for volunteers to reaffirm their status and power in the sense they are Western and ‘developed.’ The tension between transformation and justice discussed earlier in this chapter emerges again in framing how the negative outcomes of IV point to the unequal societal and structural issues while the positive outcomes of IV point to the potential for personal growth.

Given these dichotomous perspectives, the debate around who exactly benefits from IV questions core issues related to power, privilege, race, domination, and control. If the volunteer receives most of the benefits in the form of skills, knowledge, and cultural capital gained, in what ways does the host community benefit? (Lewis, 2006). The cultural capital gained by volunteers can also bring a “greater personal status and authority, social mobility and professional standing – and these need to be understood and offset against the wider impact of their work in recipient communities” (Lewis, 2006, p.18). The infrastructure IV is currently situated in has paradoxical implications; therefore, these controversies shape how volunteers make meaning of their experiences, including their assumptions about the developing world.

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework through the work of Bourdieu and Mezirow and highlights the tensions between personal transformation and social justice. Bourdieu and Mezirow were chosen to explore the tension between social justice and transformation, which is useful in exploring the meaning that volunteers make during IV experiences. As emphasized throughout the thesis, the aims are connected to concepts related to volunteers’ meaning-making of global and social justice through an IV experience. This means that Bourdieu’s emphasis on society (issues related to power and privilege) combined with

Mezirow's emphasis on the individual (as malleable and capable of transformation) provide the theoretical and conceptual tools to unpack both ends of the spectrum. These concepts are used as tools especially in the analysis chapter to assist in the interrogation of the findings.

Two key debates about responsibility and the paradox of IV have been also discussed. The debates about responsibility illuminate the way IV has come to be connected with notions of caring for others, emphasizing individual responsibility and agency. The paradox of IV illuminates how the situatedness of IV in tourism and service raises ethical concerns about using poor host communities as incubators for the personal growth of wealthy Westerners. The overarching argument is that in order for any headway to be made in the debate over the contribution that IV makes towards personal transformation and awareness of global justice, a better understanding of how IV volunteers make meaning of their experiences is necessary. The exploration of the debates in the IV literature has identified that further exploration of IV experiences is warranted, and this thesis undertakes to gather material to make it possible to further explore this question. The chapter following outlines the methodological approach, data gathering, and analysis methods used to explore the specific thesis question identified.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This thesis explores how international volunteers from developed societies make meaning of global in/justice issues in relation to their own transformation. Understanding how international volunteers' awareness of global in/justice is perceived by them can shed light on a number of issues about their lived experiences and can illuminate their self-perceptions and attitudes towards their own transformation in terms of the broader debates of IV at the unique intersection of tourism and service. Chapter two provided the contextual framework of IV and chapter three provided the theoretical framework; both chapters highlighting relevant literature underpinning IV and that there is a gap in the knowledge about personal transformation of global in/justice awareness. The literature also revealed the need to gain more understanding of meaning-making experiences associated with IV that identified the thesis question. In an attempt to gain a greater sense of how international volunteers do make meaning of these complex experiences, an appropriate methodological strategy was developed. This chapter explains the guiding principles this thesis adopted, the methodological approach taken, the research strategies employed, and the methods, tools, and techniques that were used to gather and analyze the data. In doing so, the assumptions, positioning, and paradigms this thesis adopts are articulated before addressing the research strategies employed. Moreover, relevant justification is provided as to why these principles, specific methodology, and research strategies were adopted.

Social Constructionism

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.105) define a paradigm as a, "basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method, but ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways." This means that an appropriate paradigm to reflect the

aims of thesis needs to be adopted given the explorative aims of uncovering the personal meaning-making of volunteers. Ontological assumptions instigate epistemological assumptions, which in turn instigate methodological assumptions (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995), which then help the researcher choose the tools necessary for collecting data.

It is necessary to recognize in advance that I understand knowledge as constructed. Philosophically, I therefore align with a social constructionist ontology. Yilmaz (2008, p.162), suggests that social constructionism is when “knowledge is not passively received from the world or from authoritative sources but constructed by individuals or groups making sense of their experiential worlds.” Constructionism, as a response to an objectivist epistemology (Crotty, 1998), is therefore the most appropriate paradigm to frame this thesis. The reasoning behind is situated in my fundamental belief that objective truth is not achievable. Adopting a social constructionist ontological approach to the thesis accepts an understanding that knowledge is generated through social engagement rather than being an objective phenomenon. This means, as it is related to this thesis, that volunteers’ realities may reflect a wide range of views about IV as well as my reality of IV based on my own understanding and interpretation. These multiple realities, understandings, and interpretations are acknowledged within the social constructionist paradigm that this thesis follows.

A social constructionist perspective to approach the thesis question was chosen because how volunteers make meaning of their experiences is socially constructed, informed by their interactions with other volunteers and the host community abroad, and it is an appropriate approach to understanding knowledge production. A constructionist approach to ontology is also necessary for this thesis topic because my position as the researcher accepts that the reality for each participant is based primarily upon their perception and interpretation of their individual

experience. This perspective was adopted because I share the constructionist approach to ontology (that is, the nature of reality) and epistemology (how we come to know about reality articulated through the relationship between the knower and the known). It is important to note that while Bourdieu uses the term ‘constructivist’ (p.82), which refers to how knowledge and understanding is constructed within individuals, this thesis takes a constructionist perspective, which assumes knowledge and reality are co-constructed through discourse and conversation.

Creswell (2008) identified and summarized the assumptions of numerous scholars within the context of socially constructed knowledge claims. This identification indicates that assumptions, which are identified in these claims, are underpinned by individuals who seek understanding of the world where they operate. “They develop subjective meanings of their subjective experience – meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas” (Creswell, 2008, p.7). This means that the aim of social science research is to rely on the participants’ views of a specific study, and it also means the questions become broader, so that participants can construct meaning based on discussions and interactions with other volunteers. The more open-ended the questioning, the better as it allows the researcher to listen carefully to the stories of the participants, which have subjective meanings that are historically and socially constructed by historical and cultural norms in each individual’s life (Creswell, 2008).

Considering that subjective meaning is produced, constructionist researchers then must address the process of interaction between individuals in order to understand these historical and cultural norms, which can shape the participants’ views. Furthermore, researchers must also recognize their own historical and cultural background, as that inevitably shapes their

interpretation as they position themselves in the research. Given this need to recognize the researchers position, the following section highlights the interpretive paradigm this thesis adopts.

Interpretive paradigm

As volunteers perceive their international experiences and reflect upon them internally, the other equally relevant paradigm is interpretive because there is no objective outcome to understand their lived experiences. In a similar vein to social constructionism, the interpretive paradigm recognizes that reality is subjective, but the interpretive paradigm is different ontologically and epistemologically in the sense that it seeks to understand the internal reality of the research participants (Appleton & King, 1997). Their responses to the research prompts are interpreted by examining how they have come to view their experience as well as themselves. The interpretive paradigm then fits within the constructionist paradigm because knowledge is understood as a result of meaning-making in and through interaction as opposed to an external entity that can be gathered and collated.

According to Crotty (1998), the social constructionist approach is generally contained within three general assumptions. Firstly, these assumptions are that humans interpret the world and then construct meaning based upon their interpretation. Secondly, culturally, humans have no choice but to rely upon their historical and social perspectives they are born into in order to engage with their world and make meaning of it. Meaning is generated out of the social experience among humans, and based upon how they interact with other humans.

Aligning with Crotty's three general assumptions about constructionism, this research sits comfortably within the constructionist-interpretive paradigm. For example, if a volunteer comes to make meaning or interpret her experience, this in turn informs her perception of her experience, and then ultimately informs the reality of the experience. Within this paradigm,

reality is a contested and relative interpretation, and therefore cannot be defined objectively (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). To emphasize the constructionist viewpoint, reality is not objective, but rather subjective where multiple realities exist simultaneously.

On a macro level, the constructionist-interpretive paradigm is most able to inform the thesis question in relation to the larger implications and debates related to IV. For example, when IV debates are viewed in terms of a continuum in relation to its value as an effective strategy to improve the quality of life for impoverished people in the developing world, at one end, there are those who contest the value of IV because of its colonial roots (Sahle, 2011), while others tout its validity for its ability to create awareness and understanding across international borders (Sherraden et al, 2008). These two examples emphasize the need to explore a topic such as IV through an interpretive paradigm.

On a micro level, the constructionist-interpretive paradigm is able to best inform this research because each individual engaged in IV will have varying states of realities and understandings. These realities are constructed via lived experiences and influenced by many factors such as power, culture and environment. Multiple and varied understandings of IV exist as seen previously in the literature review. International volunteers can interpret their experiences differently and ultimately come to make sense of what their individual experiences mean on many different levels. For instance, in IV, many volunteers engage in small projects, such as building a classroom. In this example, one volunteer might come to see her IV experience as negatively because she perceived that the project was patronizing towards the host community. Given the same scenario, another volunteer might arrive at a different conclusion because he perceived that the host community was in need of a school and believed the volunteers were helpful. For all intents and purposes, as many different meanings could be

concluded as there are volunteers, therefore, a constructionist-interpretive approach to meaning-making is suitable because its ontological view of how meaning is constructed aligns with the multiple viewpoints identified by other researchers in this field.

Qualitative Research

In an effort to focus on subjective understanding and meaning-making, an interpretive based qualitative research strategy has been adopted. This is because a qualitative research approach is the most appropriate way to gather the kinds of information and the experiences from volunteers that will help clarify how they understand these above-mentioned concepts in relation to their IV experiences. According to Merriam (2009, p.13), qualitative research is “...interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world.” While I would classify this as mostly qualitative research, I also used a survey with open-ended questions for sample group two, and I was able to obtain, on small level, some quantitative results.

The sole use of quantitative strategies was not used because a mixed method provides a more diverse scope. Furthermore, using only quantitative methods are not suitable on a number of fronts, although quantitative approaches are useful because they lend themselves to quantifiable questions, broad trends, and general views (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). This research concerns itself with volunteers’ personal viewpoints, which are based solely on their experiences. A quantitative approach would not be able to gather detailed information about a volunteer’s personal viewpoints, experiences, or understood meanings. From an epistemological viewpoint, qualitative research methods are more equipped to produce results that are richer in narrative and description. In depth interviews and listening to participants’ narratives can provide

this richness and depth, which, in turn, allows for a deeper exploration and deeper sense of understanding about the complexity of experiences related to global in/justice (Bryman, 2004).

While this thesis adopted an interpretive based qualitative research strategy, it also utilized surveys as a means to gather data, which can categorize this research partially as mixed methods research. Data collection that uses numeric information or instruments to quantify data can be categorized as quantitative (Creswell, 2003). The surveys in this thesis were used to collect some numeric information, but primarily used a means to reach a wider scope of IV participants in an effort to ultimately generate a theory from the ground up. The survey was used as a tool to generate open-ended questions allowing participants to explain their answers. Some minor numeric information was generated through the survey and can be helpful to explain some specific responses which gauged participants understanding of certain issues.

As this thesis sought to find depth and richness in volunteers' own understandings of their experiences and meaning-making, it employed methods best suited to that aim because rich narratives of volunteers' experiences are what help create an understanding of how they make meaning. Moreover, exploring how a variety of volunteers make meaning allows the data to emerge in the hopes of yielding a theory. Giving volunteers a space to speak openly about their experiences is directly what contributes to the depth and richness of such a study. Furthermore, as the thesis is concerned with volunteers' understanding of complex issues related to global in/justice, this depth of information is not easily quantifiable. Personal viewpoints of complex issues such as an exposure to injustices are difficult to measure.

In addition to understanding these complex issues, this research also sought to understand how participants made meaning and experienced personal transformation; therefore, a qualitative method allows the researcher to focus on participants' own accounts of their experiences (Crotty,

1998). Additionally, as qualitative designs and tools can make the words of the participants themselves available (Nkwi, Nyamongo, & Ryan, 2001), applying such an approach enabled me to gain a greater understanding of their personal and individual experiences in IV, and how they perceived it. Using tools such as participant observation, note taking, memo-writing, audio recording, and open-ended questions during the interview process, provided data that cannot be easily given a numerical value (Nkwi, Nyamongo, and Ryan, 2001).

In order to respond to the thesis question effectively, it was necessary to select a research methodology, which would generate an understanding of participants' lived experiences. A qualitative approach is the most appropriate for exploring the meanings that people make from their experiences because it tends to allow for a detailed exploration of lived experience (Bryman, 2004). For example, once transcribed, most interviews were roughly ten pages single-spaced. If a research participant provides an in depth ten-page response to a few open-ended questions, this can result in a richness of information about their interpretations of their lived experiences. In this way, a qualitative approach is useful for producing data that allows complex ideas to emerge and be considered in an effort to bring to light a theory.

Grounded Theory

The following section discusses how this thesis adopted a grounded theory (GT) approach as its methodological strategy, providing a brief history of the evolution of grounded theory and the justification for using it. Approaching the research question from an interpretive-constructionist approach can influence the terms of the methodological strategy employed. For the aims of this thesis, collecting and analyzing data cannot be limited to deductive (generally associated with objectivism or quantitative research) or inductive research (generally associated with constructionist research), but rather, must ignite the sociological imagination in the

exploration of the topic. The ability to move freely between description, conceptualization, and theorization allows for data to emerge in a more organic manner.

Given this, a grounded theory was initially chosen for this thesis to be the most suitable because it allows for multiple and varying constructions of realities and meaning-making with attention to the voice of the participants. Key aspects of grounded theory, such as the fluid movement between observation, data collection, and theory construction, enable the construction of a theory to emerge. Although a multitude of qualitative approaches exist, for all intents and purposes, this thesis relied on Creswell's (2008) five traditions of inquiry, one of which is grounded theory, to inform the methodological strategy. The other approaches that Creswell highlights such as ethnography, narrative research, case studies, and phenomenology were not as appropriate on a number of fronts, and the following paragraphs highlight why grounded theory was chosen in favor of other methods.

Ethnography literally means to write about a group of people and according to the tenets of sociology, it most commonly meant that the researcher would completely immerse themselves for a long period of time in the community that they were studying. Although completely immersed within the community of volunteers and volunteer coordinators in sample group one, I was only allowed to be in Tanzania as a volunteer coordinator for three months, living with the volunteers in a village that is neither their home nor mine. In practical terms, it was therefore impossible for me to fully immerse myself in ethnographically expected ways. After considering these issues, I came to the decision that while ethnographical studies can render deep and rich information, due to time and practical constraints, it would not be feasible for this thesis. Moreover, given the constructionist-interpretive paradigm, grounded theory emerged as more

favorable because it allows the researcher to focus on the content of the research aims.

Ethnography aims more to understand the behavior of participants of a particular culture.

Narrative research tends to focus on a small number of individuals (or even one) and essentially follows their life in chronological order, telling their individual stories via text and documents (Creswell, 2008). Being with sometimes a large group of student volunteers (group one) in Tanzania as both a volunteer and a researcher, did not allow for this kind of approach for practical and conceptual reasons. In practical terms, for example, on a day-to-day basis, I was constantly engaging with multiple groups of volunteers as part of my role as a volunteer coordinator. A narrative approach was therefore an inappropriate data gathering strategy.

Case studies can render deep and valuable information about a specific real-life phenomenon mostly relating to a single individual, and specifically aimed at understanding a truly unique aspect of that individual. While case studies could have been implemented in this thesis, it would not have provided a wider understanding of the varied and diverse types of volunteering that grounded theory can provide. For example, grounded theory can allow the participants to make meaning of and construct their realities together with the researcher.

Phenomenology was initially considered because it seeks to describe the meaning of several individuals as opposed to one in a narrative approach. The meaning of participants' lived experiences, and what the participants have in common, is what phenomenology aims to achieve. The difference between grounded theory and phenomenology is that grounded theory takes the phenomenological approach to the next level, moving beyond a description of a shared phenomenon to generate or discover a theory. After considering all these various possibilities, it was decided to adopt a grounded theory approach to data gathering and analysis as a grounded theory best fit the practical and conceptual parameters of this thesis.

Grounded theory originated through the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a method of inquiry for formulating theory, which is grounded in the data. Emerging from symbolic interactionism, a key component is that its “theory-development does not come off the shelf, but rather is generated or grounded in data from participants who have experienced the process” (Creswell, 2008, p.63). For Glaser (2010), GT represents the freedom and creativity to explore a topic, which gives away to an emergent theory that can be influenced by many forms of data. Previous to the introduction of GT, this view of an emerging theory was widely not a part of traditional qualitative methodological strategies. While early versions of GT argued that the researcher could enter the field without any preconceived ideas or excessive background research (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006), it is now widely accepted that GT accepts and addresses the researcher’s position and preconceived ideas situating GT neatly into constructivism.

Since its rise into the field of social science research, GT has undergone criticism, debate, and evolution, and no single method has been agreed upon as the most appropriate way to carry out GT research (see for example Strauss and Corbin, 1994; Charmaz, 2014; Robrecht, 1995; Keddy et al, 1996). For example, according to Cowley (2004), Jejewski (1995) attempted a literature based GT approach, but Cowley suggests that Jejewski’s analysis leaves readers with uncertainty rendering this kind of GT approach as not recommendable. Robrecht (1995) emphasizes that other approaches to GT have strayed from the original concept developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 of the constant comparison model, and in doing so have led to some confusion. In spite of these different techniques to implement GT, it has generally been praised it for its ability “stimulate and discipline the theoretical imagination” (Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997, p.86). Glaser and Strauss (1967) initial views on GT suggest it has the ability to become a well-oiled machine in the sense that the researcher has greater mobility to access and analyze

data simultaneously. In other words, while some debate exists over the ways to conduct GT (e.g. the use of lists), it can nevertheless be a useful tool in the difficult task of analyzing, interpreting, and constructing the multiple and varied realities of each research participant.

In light of this difficult task, Moser's (1999) concept of abduction can be a helpful tool for framing how a GT approach can assist in this particular thesis. Situated within an interpretive paradigm and aligning with constructivism, abduction sits in between deduction and induction to use both in an effort to illuminate meaning-making. Using abduction allows the researcher to explore the data in such a way that does not limit the testing of knowledge, but enables new knowledge to emerge, which aligns with GT. For the researcher, making meaning of rich and narrow qualitative data requires some flexibility, and this is partly why the use of GT has become more popularized (Glaser, 2010). Considering the explorative aims of this thesis then, GT makes sense as an appropriate methodological strategy.

The challenge with GT then becomes interpreting others lived experiences in a way that is collaborative to "evoke rather than describe the social world" (Deville, 2011, p.118). Convincing critique that it is impossible for the researcher to be value free when going into the field led to developments which addresses the problem of researcher's values through the concept and technique of reflexivity. Charmaz (2011) argues that GT is an approach that demands reflexivity. This reflexive process should accompany the research and the researcher throughout the entire research process. Since everything in GT can potentially be data, another difficulty in GT is related to the practicality of data collection. In other words, data can emerge from myriad of resources and opportunities including casual conversations, newspaper articles, among field notes and interviews (Ralphs, Birks, and Chapman, 2014). Given this, time and

resources impact the ability of the researcher to continue on the path to developing a GT in its most ‘sincere state.’

In light of this concern with how to implement and practice GT, Glaser and Strauss disagreed significantly, with Glaser staying more true to the original design of GT (Cowley, 2004). For Glaser, GT is not a statement of the research question or problem, but that the problem surfaces organically in order to ultimately guide the sampling (Glaser, 1992). For Strauss (later joined by Corbin), the opposite can be said about Glaser’s view of GT – that the research question or problem is the statement, which identifies the research topic (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Part of Glaser’s main concern with Strauss and Corbin’s divergent view of GT was that their emphasis on processes and developing lists may lead to a forced theory, which is not a reflection of an organic emersion of a GT. Moreover, Glaser (1992) emphasizes that authentic GT may not occur if the researcher seeks a particular audience of participants. The thought behind this, according to Glaser, is that the outcome may only produce anecdotal information or narrative rich in description, but could also miss the true issues at hand the researcher is aiming to explore.

Given my previous personal involvement in IV as a volunteer and my own assumptions and opinions about IV as a volunteer coordinator turned observer and researcher, it was necessary to consider these divergent views and approaches to GT. For example, on one hand, I wanted to allow the data to emerge organically into theory without any limits or pre-designed coding paradigms. On the other hand, I wanted to have a sense of order in the data as to reflect the multiple realities of the participants and to keep me from becoming distracted or without direction and focus. In doing so, I adopted a hybrid of GT approaches and techniques, which are discussed further later.

Given these divergent views of GT, it is necessary to identify and acknowledge some of the possible pit falls. For example, Allan (2003) suggests that line by line coding through the examination of individual words is only time consuming, but carries the risk of the analysis being lost in the minutia of the data. Moreover, Allan (2003) posits that the sense of no structure provided in using a more Glaserian approach to GT makes for a difficult time of deciding what is code and what is not. Another critique of GT according to Goldthorpe (2000) is its inability to be reproduced in the sense that it may be nearly impossible to replicate the identical environment in which the study took place. If the setting cannot be properly replicated, then how can an identical theory emerge? In this way, a GT approach appears too ad hoc for Goldthorpe, who posits that GT does not rely on indicators, thereby missing the testing of theory. In addition, Barbour's (2001) critique of GT, which addresses the potentially problematic way a theory emerges, bears mentioning because it illuminates the emphasis on how the data is processed by the researcher. How data is interpreted, coded, analyzed by the researcher is important because "uncritical adoption of grounded theory can result in explanations tinged with near mysticism" (Barbour, 2001, p.1116). This means that researchers must consider their own theoretical viewpoint, their own embodied knowledge, and the assumptions they may unwittingly bring to the research.

Considering Barbour's critique, Bourdieu's (1986) concept of habitus can be useful here in the methodological strategies to highlight the way a researcher may bring with them embodied values and preconceived ideas about the phenomena they are researching. Moreover, to give credence to the role of the habitus of the researcher, Charmaz (2005, p.509) points out the varied ways the researcher can influence the research questions suggesting that researchers may only be able to ask questions in terms of how they have come to frame the world.

What observers see and hear depends upon their prior interpretive frames, biographies and interests, as well as the research context, their relationships with

research participants, concrete field experiences and modes of generating and recording empirical materials.

Further aligning with the implicit recognition of habitus in constructionist-interpretive social science research, Glaser's (2010, p.7) emphasizes that, "the spread of grounded theory is also linked to perceptual empowerment. By this, I mean that the comparative process constantly raises the conceptual level of the study, which gives the researcher a continually transcending perspective, a constantly larger and less bounded picture." This comparative process Glaser (2010) references is inevitably influenced by the researcher's habitus (among other influences), especially if data can be derived from many diverse places.

Considering the varied places data can be derived, when using a GT approach, similarities and differences that emerge in the data during analysis need to be strategically and consciously analyzed to avoid "an artificially neat and tidy account that is descriptive rather than analytical (Barbour, p.1117)." In other words, if not executed strategically, GT has the propensity to describe data rather than describe *and* analyze as well as to provoke a pre-meditated theory, which is precisely what GT should seek to avoid, according to Glaser (2010).

In an effort to acknowledge and recognize the potential pit falls of GT, it can nonetheless be a useful alternative approach to traditional data collection and analysis. In spite of multiple divergent views of how to implement GT, this thesis recognizes the varied ways GT goes beyond a systematic approach to research and embraces concepts and ultimately a theory that may or may not rely on formulas, lists, or explicit guidelines. For Strauss and Corbin (1994), GT does not always have to utilize specific lists or guidelines, but suggests that they can be useful because they can provide a general way to conceptualize data in an orderly fashion.

In consideration of the criticism GT has received in its divergent approaches from its original creation to suit a number of researchers' interests, it is necessary to note that this thesis

considered these different approaches. In the end, however, this thesis identified and aligned with an approach to GT that fit best with Charmaz's (2005) constructionist approach with an emphasis on reflexivity. This is because an emphasis on reflexivity acknowledges the influence of the researcher in that a value-free approach does not exist (as emphasized by Charmaz). In this vein, adopting a grounded theory approach which recognizes the crucial role of reflexivity in data generation, coding, and analysis can be seen to be practically achievable. Sandelowski and Barroso (2002, p.222) underscore the benefits of utilizing a reflexive approach to research:

Reflexivity is a hallmark of excellent qualitative research and it entails the ability and willingness of researchers to acknowledge and take account of the many ways they themselves influence research findings and thus what comes to be accepted as knowledge. Reflexivity implies the ability to reflect inward toward oneself as an inquirer; outward to the cultural, historical, linguistic, political, and other forces that shape everything about inquiry; and, in between researcher and participant to the social interaction they share.

This aligns with Neil (2006), who posits that constant comparative analysis in GT should illuminate clearly the impact of the researcher on the data. Therefore, it made the most sense to use a reflexivity focused GT strategy so as to be able to engage with demands of the thesis question in an effort for a GT to emerge organically.

Given this effort, this thesis employed multiple means of collecting data in an effort to generate and consider data, which would give rise to the emergence of a grounded theory. GT was chosen because it has the ability to reach a complex range of research questions derived from a complex research design (Bergman, 2008). Furthermore, for this thesis, GT enables the analysis of the data to flow in such a way that the reflexive process is in constant motion, and the specific techniques used for this thesis are further discussed later.

Methods and Samples

This section highlights the samples groups used for gathering data in this research, as well as introducing the main approaches to collect data, which were participant observation, individual interviews, and surveys. Participant observation gave me the opportunity to observe the volunteers informally for multiple hours throughout the day as we carried out the tasks of each project and engaged in myriad of conversations. Volunteers understood my role as a researcher and that this research was being completed for a PhD degree. They also understood they were being observed throughout the day. As a volunteer coordinator, my working alongside the volunteers is mandated; hence my observation was not intrusive or awkward. Individual interviews generated the richness and depth that is needed in order to gain an understanding of the volunteer's very individualized experience. Surveys allowed me to cast a slightly wider net from a very specific population of international volunteers at a faith-based institution, which in turn created a wealth of knowledge about their unique experiences.

Since volunteers are not limited to any specific demographics such as age, sex, or nationality, I chose to review three different groups of volunteers based upon their current levels of involvement in IV: those presently involved in IV (sample group one), those who were recently involved in IV (sample group two), and those previously involved in IV (sample group three). Every participant was over the age of eighteen. While there are many ways to engage in IV, a strategy for gathering data was devised that would bring together what was practically possible while keeping in mind the conceptual concerns.

Gaining access to IV volunteers presented complex logistical and financial issues because many IV volunteers, are, by definition, abroad at any given time. They are a mobile and ever-changing group. As discussed previously, time and resources can limit a researcher's ability to

collect which gives way to the emergence of grounded theory that is theoretically saturated.

Given the financial constraints and time constraints of a PhD, a compromise had to be sought that would allow for the generation of data adequate to the analytical task situated within a GT approach. Given my personal background and experience in IV, I was able to use my networks to devise a strategy to access different groups of research participants. Also, given my previous participation in IV programs in the past that operated out of the US, this insider status helped me gain access to volunteers that otherwise might have been difficult to reach.

The three different sample groups were chosen because they allow perspectives of IV as seen from different experiential positions and points of personal reflection, each of which would give valuable insight into experientially informed meaning-making, and when taken together, would offer insight into meaning-making across the different moments of experience. This allows me to understand these different moments without having to follow individuals for years and then interview them sporadically. While authentic GT encourages the researcher to collect data in cycles returning to the analysis process and then back to collection, multiple trips to Tanzania (or elsewhere) for example were not feasible on a practical level. Considering this, the three-group strategy was seen as the most effective and achievable solution on how to acquire a range of the IV experience within GT, and specifically the questions this study aims to explore.

Following a Charmazian approach to GT, the following topics are over-arching concepts and ideas that drove specific questions during the interview process and survey questions. The topics were used as a framework to guide the kind of information solicited from all participants, and were considered during the analysis of the transcripts: perceptions about personal transformation because of IV experience (past or present) motivations for participation in IV, better awareness of global issues related to poverty and injustice, personal perceptions of

attitudes toward cultural understanding, and knowledge of development issues including NGOs or IV organizations. Using these topics as guidelines to frame the specific interview questions provided an opportunity for the voice of the participant to emerge following the emergence of a grounded theory. It is next appropriate to introduce each sample group chosen for this thesis, why this sample group was chosen, and the specific techniques employed to ensure GT was being implemented during the process of moving in between analysis and data collection.

Sample Group 1: Those presently involved in IV

The first sample group was comprised of individuals who were currently volunteering (at the time of data collection in June, July, and August 2010). It was with this sample group in Tanzania that I was also volunteering in the field daily and serving as their volunteer coordinator. In this sample group, I interviewed a total of eleven volunteers, of which all interviews took place in Tanzania, using semi-structured interviews. Each interview lasted approximately an hour, in a quiet place with minimal distractions. All the interviews except one occurred in the evening. Each interview was recorded and transcribed by me, and the participant was given the opportunity to review the transcription. No participants made changes to the transcripts. Of the eleven participants in this group, seven were female and four were male. Two of the eleven volunteers identified as persons of color. Everyone was a US citizen except one from Canada and one from England. The oldest participant in this sample group was thirty-one years of age and the youngest was eighteen.

With this sample group, interviews were the most effective way of allowing me to understand the depth of the participants' own words and their understanding of IV, however as a researcher participant, I was also able to examine and be privy to 'off the record conversations' while engaged in the service work. This allowed for a rich depth of information gathering. I had

originally selected fifteen participants, but the final number that agreed and signed consent to be interviewed was eleven. Over the course of June, July, and August of 2010, however, I engaged in informal conversations about IV with 50+ volunteers from a wide variety of organizations operating programs in Tanzania. All of these volunteers were aware of my role as a researcher and a volunteer, and even though they were not formally interviewed, I was able to interact and observe many other volunteers ‘in the action’ as they worked on building projects, interacted with the host community, and played sports with Tanzanian children. In turn, I was able to use these conversations in my own reflection process afterwards.

In consideration of my unique role working alongside the participants and keeping focused on the tenets of grounded theory, I was able to utilize several different techniques of data collection and analysis. For instance, note-taking was a useful tool during each interview. Since I was recording the interviews, the note-taking which occurred during the interviews served as notes of clarification so that when I later transcribed the interviews, I could refer to the notes on a specific participant and better recall what I had been thinking at the time of the interview. This technique allowed me to unpack and make meaning of the participants’ own voices in a way that honored their reality. This means I frequently interrupted if I needed to seek clarification.

After the interview was complete and the participant left, I would then examine my notes and begin the process of composing a memo. According to Glaser (1978) memo-writing is an essential tenet of GT because it can illuminate information about the research process itself, and this is precisely what purpose these memos served. They helped in the very early stages to identify the major concepts and summarizing the main points the participants expressed. After multiple interviews, these memos allowed me to go back and compare the newly composed memos with former ones. In this way, I was not necessarily categorizing or coding on the

analysis level, but was beginning the process by identifying and labeling through constant comparison and contrast.

Not only was note taking an important part during the interview and memo writing an important part post interview, but, as stated previously, the habitus of the researcher needs to be considered during the research process. This means that during the interviews and data collection, I was constantly recalling my own volunteer experiences and remembering my own journey toward transformation. Through the semi-structured interviews, note-taking, memo-writing, participant observation, and the multiple informal conversations, memories of my own IV experiences became more illuminated. Recalling the lessons that I learned during my own IV experiences invoked a desire to take strategic measures to ensure that I was not ‘pulling out’ my own experiences from the participants. I desired to see a grounded theory emerge out of the data organically, which adequately reflected the voices of the participants in this sample group. In doing so, the questions I asked were strategically designed to also assess whether or not IV had left volunteers hopeful, discouraged, or indifferent. Since most of my IV experiences left me feeling more hopeful, I strived to ensure that the questions I asked gave way to responses that would not limit the participant to hopeful outcomes.

As with traditional GT, the researcher may engage in theoretical sampling, which involves returning to the field to collect further data. In the case of this sample group, returning to Tanzania multiple times was not practical due to time and financial constraints, however, it is noteworthy that by spreading the interviews over a three-month period, I was, in a sense, able to ‘return to the field’ on multiple occasions. For example, a week would often pass in between each interview and during this time, I would be in the field engaging in participant observation, having informal conversations about IV, some of which were semi-structured around a campfire

in the evenings (discussed further later). During this time, I would continue to keep a journal of my reflections and thoughts based on the conversations and participant observations.

In the original version of GT, the process of returning to the field to collect data in cycles leads to theoretical saturation, which is when a researcher has sampled and coded data until no new themes have emerged (Glaser, 2012). Although I was unable to achieve theoretical saturation in this sense because I had not begun the detailed process of coding (since I had not transcribed the interviews), I was able to go back and forth between my notes and memos on each interview to engage in the preliminary stages of analysis. This is partially why memo-writing and note-taking proved to be useful, as it enabled me to begin the initial process of analysis during data collection as the messages that the participants conveyed began to emerge.

Sample group one is an important sample of IV participants because it provides a unique range of volunteers in the IV sector who were interviewed specifically in the space in which the research topic is undertaken. What is meant by range refers to the variety of volunteers in this sample group; some as strictly volunteers, others in volunteer coordinator positions (like myself), and even others in unique positions at NGOs. These types of IV volunteers provided a deeper exploration of a range of IV experiences because they also chose to live abroad for a longer period of time as opposed to some of the other participants who spent two to four weeks abroad. No matter how long they spent abroad, their self-perceptions were shaped by their immediate day-to-day IV experiences in the field, and their attitudes towards issues such as poverty, development, global justice, service, and tourism were being informed by their immediate exposure to these concepts. Reflections from volunteers while they are in the field can illustrate how they experience potential tensions that IV illuminates.

Sample Group 2: Those recently involved in IV

The second sample group consisted of a survey sent to 250 university-aged students between the ages of 18 and 25 who had only just completed a short-term (two-week minimum) GSL experience. Given that there were 250 students, surveys were the most feasible means of collecting data as it would be impossible to interview this many participants. Accessing participants involved a two-step process. First, I contacted a specific faith-based university in California, which I was aware facilitated (and still does facilitate) GSL programs. It is necessary to note that while the institution is tied to a Christian Protestant faith, it is not required that students make a statement of faith in order to be enrolled. Evangelism is also not the sole purpose of the GSL programs, although it may be component of some. I requested that the university forward details of my research and a request to participate to the 250 university students who had recently returned home to the US. Secondly, of the students who agreed to participate (75 total), an online survey was sent to them via email immediately upon their return. I chose this university because I was aware of and familiar with their GSL program because it is where I attended as a student. I became involved in their GSL program, which annually sends students abroad for the sole intention to engage them in service-learning projects (study abroad programs are operated separately). I knew the director of the program personally and was able to dialogue with her about the nature of this research and the aims of the thesis.

A limitation of this sample group is that I did not consider sending the survey to any other universities or to any other GSL programs primarily because I was not specifically aware of nor did I have any other personal contacts at other universities which send this many students abroad. I am personally aware of a few other schools in the US which operate similar but smaller GSL programs, which are service-learning based, however, not having any contacts there and due to the time constraints of the PhD thesis, I opted to focus on this university where I was

granted access to research participants. Another limitation for this group was that I was in Tanzania (with sample group one) with no Internet and very limited electricity at the same time the surveys were being sent to sample group two (throughout the summer of 2010). This means that it would have been unpractical on a number of fronts to conduct focus groups via Skype while in Tanzania. Given this, it was decided that an open-ended survey with questions allowing participants to expand their answers was the best fit, and it was necessary that the survey be issued immediately upon return as each GSL group returns to the US at varying times throughout the summer. Having been a volunteer in this program myself and in an effort to ‘catch’ participants immediately upon return, I understood the relevance of the timing of the survey.

The on-line survey contained 35 questions almost all of which were open-ended. This allowed the participants an opportunity to explain why they responded the way they did. Some questions used a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 as strongly disagree and 5 as strongly agree. In the survey, these series of questions gathered and explored their attitudes and views towards issues such as motivations for participation, poverty, cultural awareness, and global injustice. These survey questions were adapted from three other surveys, all which sought to understand either cultural awareness, a heightened sense of global consciousness, or opinion on development and aid. With permission, I adapted the surveys to reflect the aims of this thesis in terms of personal experience. An acknowledged limitation in the survey is related to some of the questions, which could be construed as pre-empting a certain type of reply, thereby, an inherent weakness in using this specific methodological tool. The survey, however, was designed to help gain an idea of the attitudes of the participants immediately following their engagement in IV while their memories were still fresh. In using a survey, a slightly wider net was cast to obtain a greater population of those participating in IV recognizing that the survey could have included

better questions. The survey did generate a broad idea of this group's ideas on personal transformation and global justice, and a copy is included in the appendices (see appendix E).

In order to provide some contextual understanding of the nature of the students' answers in the survey, it is relevant to understand what kind of university it is. Being one of the largest faith based universities in the US, close to 10,000 students in total, a strong emphasis is placed on service by the university. The mission statement of the university includes four core cornerstones that define the university: Christ, scholarship, community, and service. These themes are emphasized in every aspect of the educational process from curricular to co-curricular. According to my contacts at the undergraduate admissions office, it is estimated that approximately 80% of the student body comes from a Christian Protestant background upon entering the university. Generally speaking, many of these students come from homes and families in which service and volunteering in a faith-based context are highly encouraged. From the moment students arrive on campus, they are encouraged to get involved in several volunteer and service opportunities, most of which are local in the Los Angeles area. Generally speaking, a large majority of the undergraduate student population comes from an upper-middle class socio-economic status. According to the University's enrollments website, in 2010, (during the time this survey was issued) 49.5% of the student population identified as white, 6% black, 8% Asian, 15.8% Latino, 0.4% Native American, 0.4% Pacific Islander, and 19.3% did not specify.

This sample group was chosen because they were canvassed immediately after their return from IV; their attitudes and expectations about IV and about issues such as justice, poverty, and development were relatively fresh and still under personal review. Their reflections would likely give insight into the immediate effects and influences of IV on their own lives and self-understanding. In light of this, it is appropriate to highlight how this GSL program has

designed specific learning outcomes in conjunction with the statement of purpose for the Center for Student Action (an office on campus):

Each year, the Center for Student Action sends more than 250 students, faculty, staff, and alumni around the world to partner with long-term and national workers to meet the whole person needs of communities. Action Team members go as learners and servers of long-term workers, respecting the cross-cultural understanding and sensitivity involved as short-term participants. Programs include but are not limited to: educational development, orphan work, conversational English teaching, prayer ministry, mobile medical care clinics, anti-human and sex trafficking, and much more.

Although surveys are not traditionally employed in grounded theory research, the survey was the best tool available to canvass this many students while simultaneously giving voice to the participants' expressed views and feelings based on their personal experiences with IV. In light of this sample group's unique situatedness within a faith-based university's GSL program, the survey opened a space to generate unique data without the ability to ask for clarification, as was the case in the interviews. While this could be considered a hindrance to achieving a grounded theory, I argue that by allowing these participants to interpret the questions and expand on them in their own way contributed to the emergence of the grounded theory. My intended aim of the survey is that it would be used as a tool to prompt participants to think about their experience in relationship to the questions asked with the freedom to expand however they saw fit.

Sample Group 3: Those previously involved in IV

The third sample group consisted of IV participants who had at some point in their lives previously engaged in IV. This sample group was drawn from the local Christchurch, New Zealand community, of which five identified as New Zealand citizens, four as North American, one as Scottish, and one as Kenyan. Many of the participants in this group were introduced to me through friends or colleagues at the University of Canterbury, who knew of someone who had engaged in IV previously, but was at the time of interview residing in Christchurch. Of this

sample group, the longest period of time spent abroad was two years (two individuals), whilst the shortest period of time was two weeks.

I interviewed each participant using semi-structured interviews using the same range of topics used for sample group one. The age range in this sample group was significantly broader than in sample group one. The youngest was age 27 and the oldest was 72. This presented some difficulty in the interviews because each participant had a unique experience (unlike sample group one), and a unique ability to recall, or in some cases, difficulty to recall, information from their experience. Each interview was recorded and transcribed by me, and the participant was given the opportunity to review the transcription, at which time no revisions were submitted to me. All interviews were held in a quiet room with minimal distractions. As with sample group one, interviews allowed for a richness of information and a depth of information for this sample group by allowing me to gain greater insight into their past IV experience as well as their meaning-making of that experience over a length of time. Even though I was unable to observe this group while they were engaged in IV, it became clear that their separation from IV had given them more time and space to reflect on their experiences. Their awareness of issues related to global in/justice was better articulated because they were generally older and had more time to reflect upon the aspects of their IV experience.

Similarly to sample group one, I employed note-taking during interviews which served as a helpful guideline to seek clarification and to begin identifying key concepts communicated by the participant. After each interview, I examined my notes and used memo-writing to help interpret their lived experiences. Although specific coding did not necessarily begin during the time of data collection, memo-writing after each interview served as a helpful tool to organize my thoughts and interpretations of the interview while it was still fresh in my mind. This also

gave me the ability to document my thoughts about the research process in a reflexive manner, constantly taking into account my personal relationship with IV and my epistemological stance.

Researcher Positioning

Throughout my time as a volunteer and researcher working with other volunteers in sample group one in Tanzania, my examination of relevant literature continued throughout the data collection process. Given my limited access to the Internet, it was important that I brought printed publications with me to Tanzania related to IV and research methods. In the spirit of grounded theory, I was constantly thinking about my own set of values and assumptions, which often times conflicted from the early emerging ideas in the set of data from the interviews. My generally positive experiences in IV that left me generally hopeful about global justice did not always surface with each participant I interviewed. Considering this, I did not want my own opinions or my influence on the interpretation of the volunteers' experiences to overly-influence the emerging themes and unduly affect the outcome of the study. Clarke (2005) suggests, however, that previous knowledge (or exposure to IV in my case) of the situation can be valuable as opposed to obstructing, pending the researcher maintains an awareness of his or her own knowledge. Given this, my adoptions of strategies to facilitate self-reflection, such as keeping a journal, were a means to make myself aware of my position, assumptions, and preconceptions. It was more personal in nature, but gave me the space I needed to process my own hopes and fears about IV. In other words, the journal allowed me to engage in the reflexive process, as Charmaz (2005) posits, which is necessary in order to voice my own concerns in relation to how the participants were experiencing and navigating their own IV experiences.

The epistemological stance of constructionists indicates that knowledge is constructed through our interaction with others (Creswell, 2008). Constructionists also view knowledge to be

the outcome of our language, social practices and common understandings (Schwandt, 2000).

Following this line of thought, and using an interpretive paradigm, this thesis therefore presumes that the findings are partially constructed through the interaction between the participants and me as we illuminated knowledge together in order to develop a theory (Creswell, 2003).

Given this joint effort to illuminate knowledge together, it is essential to state my position throughout the research as well as the different roles that I played during the data collection phase of the research. In order to do this, it is necessary to briefly state again my role as volunteer coordinator for sample group one only. As a volunteer coordinator, part of my responsibilities were not only to work with the host community to implement the projects they desired, but also to work with and assign volunteers and help guide them through the process of volunteering in a specific host community. Some of the participants from sample group one were volunteer coordinators and others were volunteers; all were given literature approved by the ethics committee about the aims of the study (see appendices). For those participants working in the organization where I was a volunteer coordinator, I explained the differences between the two hats I was to wear – one as researcher, and the other as volunteer coordinator.

During this research, and specifically during the time of data collection in Tanzania, it was important from the onset that the other volunteers were aware of the research. I made that very clear to them by introducing myself and explaining in some detail my role as well as my intentions for the research. When each volunteer group arrives in country, the volunteer coordinators conduct an orientation in which important matters are addressed, such as general guidelines of the organization, the host community, and other relevant issues. Because I did not know exactly who would become a participant from the onset, as the volunteers arrived, during

this orientation, I let all the volunteer and volunteer coordinators know about my purpose there, although not all of them were interviewed.

My position in relation to this research is shaped by my direct involvement with sample group one because I was also a volunteer with them. I had to be aware of my positioning as the researcher, and how my involvement would influence every stage of the research process.

Hellawell (2006) argues that the researcher can and should be both inside and outside of the research, as this not only allows for empathy (inside), but also allows for some level of alienation (outside). In this thesis, I was very much an insider because I was working alongside most of the volunteers during the night and day. In some respects, I was very much in the trenches with them, sometimes quite literally digging and having informal conversations about a wide range of topics, some of which were directly related to their personal transformation. In this case, I was less of an outsider than an insider because my role as volunteer coordinator meant that I was a part of the community in which I was studying. Furthermore, my role as volunteer coordinator involved me living in very close proximity with all the volunteers and the volunteer coordinators. We ate every meal together, spent evenings around a campfire, and engaged in all sorts of activities and discussions. I was not on the outside looking in as an objective researcher, but a key part of the organizational structure. Although I was there with the express intention of undertaking research with them, I also had certain duties to fill as a volunteer coordinator.

By that same token, constituting myself as a researcher constructed the space between myself and the other volunteers somewhat differently. For instance, during the interviews, I was clear that although I worked alongside the volunteers throughout the day, my role was to gain understanding of *their* experience and I solicited to know *their* opinions and feelings. It was necessary for me to distinguish between these two different roles I was playing. During the day,

my role was to assign the volunteers to specific projects, supervise their work, and make sure their basic needs were met. During the evenings, when we were no longer working, I would use this time to conduct an interview as well as lead group discussions around the campfire targeted at a specific topic about the scope and impact of our volunteer work. In addition, during each interview, I would introduce the research topic, explain the purpose of the thesis, ask them sign the consent form confirming their anonymity, and assured them the research had been approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Another aspect of my insider status was the level of personal experience I have had with IV, which was explained in chapter one. Given my background working with several organizations in several countries, I was exposed to different types of IV with a wide variety of host communities. On one hand, this allowed me to generate relevant questions and equipped me to ask open-ended questions, which allowed the participant to think critically about their experience. On the other hand, it positioned me very close to the research as I was living day in and day out with the research participants. Being so close with the participants in sample group one, and also so close personally to the topic, can raise ethical questions related to research as well as to research bias. Jenkins (2013, p.373) highlights this struggle: “Our desire to question aspects of our own identity has ramifications on how we define and understand the concept of self.” Although this thesis is not designed to explore my identity, my awareness of my identity as a volunteer and volunteer coordinator was nevertheless present during the time of research, and will furthermore always be a part of my personal identity. In light of this, I was able, at times, to disclose information about my experiences as an international volunteer to the research participants. Sometimes these disclosures occurred informally while working and other times during the interviews. This level of vulnerability was necessary because it helped to build trust

between the participants in sample group one. Jenkins (2013, p.374) discusses the role of being an insider and how that can be intertwined with the research process:

My attempts to negotiate between different roles and identities...resonated in the work of Ebaugh (1988, p.181) who described a process whereby 'exes' disengage from a previous role that helped define their sense of identity and on towards the adoption of a new role. Self-disclosure with participants regarding issues of identity and experience encouraged authentic and intimate dialogue, which enabled both researcher and participants to reassess their own beliefs, preoccupations and attitudes.

This is exactly the process in which I was engaged as the researcher, where I attempted to disengage from my previous role as a volunteer that had played a significant role in shaping my identity. In an effort to see a grounded theory emerge organically from the voice of the participants, but also acknowledging my own habitus and background with IV, I was influential in shaping the research design, but also helpful in engaging the participants in more critical dialogue about IV. Given the intimacy at times during the interviews, I felt compelled in that moment to share about my experience and together engage in the process of reflexivity with the research participant. This reflexivity encouraged some of the participants in sample group one to in turn ask me questions. The importance of storytelling was also important in this thesis and should be noted here in relation to researcher positioning and the desire to illuminate knowledge together. Given that sharing stories were a part of the interviews, it is next necessary to look at Hawthorne Effect.

Having worked so closely with sample group one, and their awareness of my role as a researcher, can call into question what is known as the Hawthorne Effect. Although defined in various ways, the idea behind the Hawthorne Effect basically indicates that participants' behavior can be altered depending on whether or not they know the experiment is taking place (Jones, 1992). The Hawthorne Effect dates back to the 1920s and 1930s when several employees

at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company were observed during an experiment (Jones, 1992). However, in the case of this thesis, I argue that the Hawthorne Effect was not in play firstly, because I was not studying the research participants in two separate experimental groups as they were studied at the Hawthorne Plant. Secondly, the days were spent working alongside the volunteers, getting to know them on an interpersonal level, and building rapport and trust with them. While the participants might have had a heightened awareness of some issues related to IV because they knew they might be asked about it later (not all volunteers were interviewed), many of the volunteers spoke candidly with me throughout the duration of the day about questions or issues as they arose. This created a safe place for them to dialogue off the record about such issues. During the actual interviews on record, I asked them to speak about their individual experiences and asked them to take into account their preconceived ideas about IV compared to their actual experiences.

Situatedness, in methods terms, is the involvement the researcher has in the research site and also the involvement the researcher has with other social beings whose lives are being studied (Clark, 2005). Ultimately, situatedness “refers to the quality of contingency of all social interaction” (Vannini, 2008, p.815), and stands opposite to the positivist/objectivist paradigm. The issue of situatedness is raised because acknowledging my own situatedness simultaneously aligns the research undertaken with the nature of knowledge production ontologically with the constructionist – interpretive paradigm. It was vital to the integrity of the methodological approach taken and to the research process to be consciously self-reflexive. According to Vannini (2008, p.816), due to the nature of the researchers own situatedness, they must also reflect on how their “observations and reflections are outcomes of their interaction with that

environment.” By using reflexivity in this research, and by recognizing the limitations of situated knowledge, it allows this research to connect to this constructionist –interpretive paradigm.

As introduced previously, a technique, for example, that I used frequently whilst in Tanzania with sample group one, was self-reflective journaling. Barry and O'Callaghan (2008, pp. 56-57) bring to light the importance of journal writing in the reflexive process because journal writing allows “the opportunity for analytical thinking and self-analysis about what one’s personal stories conveys.” Furthermore, reflection through journal writing can allow those engaging in it to: “connect thought, feeling, and action, deepen self-awareness, think for themselves, trust their emerging ideas, and allow new or revised insights to emerge” (Lukinsky, 1990 p. 213). Reflective journal writing was a key and integral component of note-taking and memo-writing for both sample groups one and three. In Tanzania, I intentionally carved out part of my day for ‘me time’ as it allowed me a space to practice reflexivity and consider our impact in the ways we were interacting with the host community. For example, the following is an excerpt from questions I asked myself in my journal after observing the host community:

I’m not sure what to think about the project today. I feel torn because I can tell that the volunteers (and myself included) want this project to be completed by the end of the summer, but I’m struggling to see the sense of ownership among the locals. I know we discussed this project at the very beginning of the summer with the primary school principal, but he just doesn’t seem motivated. Maybe they really wanted a different project all along? I wonder if the whole way we are approaching this is wrong? Do they see us as just the white man coming in with an agenda and a schedule and no regard to anything else?

In addition to reflective journal writing, I took abbreviated field notes during the day, which would then prompt me in the evenings (back at our campsite) to go into more depth about observations I had noticed throughout the day. During the lunch break on the service project, I frequently used this time to quickly write down notes, thoughts, or questions, or meet with the school principal. As mentioned previously, I also took notes during the interviews, which later

provided a guide map for memo-writing, which ultimately gave way to begin the coding process. In these ways, I sought to uphold tenets of grounded theory and situated knowledge productive from within a constructionist paradigm. On that note, much of qualitative research today is shaped by researchers who methodically reflect on who they are and the roles they play in their own research (Creswell & Brown, 1992). In summary, it is imperative in this thesis to acknowledge my personal awareness of my own habitus, including values, culture, biases, and interests because it illuminates that most interpretive based research is laden with values (Mertens, 2003).

To re-emphasize the importance of self-reflexivity and the role of the researcher in the research process, if qualitative research tends to be mostly interpretive research, with the researcher involving themselves quite extensively with the participants, according to Locke et al (2000), many strategic, ethical, and personal issues need to be considered. In fact, when grounded theory researchers interpret and begin to code data, they are inevitably doing so through a “personal lens that is situated in a specific sociopolitical and historical moment...one cannot escape the personal interpretation brought to qualitative data analysis” (Creswell, 2003 p. 182). Given that the aim was to explore how volunteers made meaning of their IV experiences in relation to their own personal transformation, gathering and analyzing data in ways that were consistent with a constructionist grounded theory approach was crucial.

Limits of Methodology

In terms of generalizability, a constructive-interpretive, qualitative approach will not provide a grand overview of IV experiences, but rather, is designed to focus on meaning-making of experientially informed individual interpretations. It generates in-depth accounts of how IV volunteers came to interpret and understand their experiences of IV. The purpose of this thesis is

not intended to make broad assumptions or suggestions based on empirical data about IV, therefore, on a practical front, this kind of thesis cannot provide an overview of all IV experiences due to many factors such as scope of study, money, time constraints, and access to a large number of international volunteers.

In terms of the limits of using a GT approach, certain traditional grounded theory practices and techniques could not be implemented due to time, resources, and logistical details. For example, theoretical saturation in the way it may have been initially intended by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was not possible, especially for sample groups one and two. Pidgeon and Henwood (1997) suggest that GT can be implemented using a full version and an abbreviated version. The full version makes use of theoretical sampling until saturation is achieved, whereas the abbreviated version uses the original data collected. For all intents and purposes of this thesis, it adopted the abbreviated version given the limits previously discussed.

Ethics Procedures

As in any research or study, problems, issues, and limitations will inevitably arise which need to be addressed. The first problems I bring to light are the ones raised by the Human Ethics Committee (HEC) at the University of Canterbury before engaging in the data collection process. During the proposal phase of this research, the HEC raised the following points.

It was suggested that participants are offered a summary of the research results, and I added this to the participant consent forms, and made sure each participant was aware of this offer before engaging in the interview. The HEC asked me to clarify whether the interviewees are volunteers or paid employees of an NGO, and if they are paid employees, then what steps are in place to deal with the protection of employees in the event that a report may go to the employer. I responded and informed the HEC that the volunteers were not paid. Regarding

sample group one and the small number of possible participants, the HEC suggested not using pseudonyms at all so that it would not be possible to identify how many or which volunteers did not participate at all versus ones that did. This was an important and valid point by the HEC to ensure confidentiality versus anonymity. I adhered to their suggestion and altered the documentation so that pseudonyms were not used at all. I was asked by the HEC why there were possibly more than one interview for sample groups one and two. I justified this because, given the nature of how time functions in Africa, I was not sure if one interview would be enough time to get all the information depending on the frequency of our interruptions (if any) during the interview. I was informed by the HEC that the participant consent forms for sample groups one and two should state information is confidential, not anonymous, and I updated this in the documentation. The HEC also mandated that participants should be offered transcripts of interviews, not just available on request. I updated this as well on the consent form. After addressing all of the above issues and adjusting them accordingly with the HEC application, I submitted them at which time the proposal was approved.

Regarding ethical dilemmas, it is important to bring to light the possibilities of ethical dilemmas in using my former university as a point of access to gain survey respondents. The advantage of using this university was that access was granted without any difficulty. Having known the director of the program personally, who was also very interested in the thesis topic, an executive decision was made to allow the survey to be sent. Had I not had any previous affiliation with the university, gaining access to this many students would have been challenging. Furthermore, I may not have known that approximately 250 students participate in GSL programs annually at this university. It could have potentially taken quite some time to find a university with that many students engaging in IV that would grant me access. The disadvantage

from an ethical point of view is also directly related to my personal connection, not only to the university, but also to this specific GSL program in which I had previously been a participant. While I believe that this gives me an advantage because I understand the nature of the program very well, it could also present some ethical dilemmas in the sense that I am not a fully objective outsider removed from the program. Even though my participation in the program ended three years before I began data collection, I am still connected to it, and my role as an insider/outsider needs to be addressed. What I mean by this is that because I know the director of the program personally, I was aware of certain updates and changes to the program as they have occurred over the past few years. Because the GSL program at this university played such an influential part of my own personal growth and development as an undergraduate student, it was important to keep myself apprised of updates and changes. Now, however, in 2017, the director I knew personally is no longer there (she left the program in 2012) and I have not followed any updates or changes to the operation of the program.

The insider versus outsider in social science research is not new. Kikumura (1998, pp.140-141) emphasizes how some social scientists advocating for the outsider researcher argue that “access to authentic knowledge is more obtainable because of the objectivity and scientific detachment,” which allows the researcher to have a more unbiased view because they are on the outside looking in. By the same token, Kikumura (1998, p.140-141) also highlights that those who argue in favor of the insider research claim, “group membership provides special insight into matters (otherwise obscure to others).” It is relevant to illuminate how my role as both insider and outsider created certain issues, how I dealt with each issue, and also to illuminate the fluidity of moving between each role as a volunteer and researcher. In sample group one, the main insider issue, previously mentioned, was in relation to the Hawthorne effect. Another

possible ethical dilemma related to sample group one was how I was not only a researcher, but also the volunteers' supervisor in that I was partly responsible for coordinating their day-to-day projects, and working with the host community leaders to plan the projects they wanted, and then effectively assigns volunteers to the projects. While the participants understood from the beginning of the program about my position as a researcher, their leader, and as a volunteer alongside them, it brings into question the dynamic of giving them commands by day, and then asking them to be honest with me in the interviews in the evening.

In sample group two, from an insider perspective, my years as a student at this university allowed me, in a sense, an automatic membership, which proved to provide special access and ultimately insight into matters. On the other hand, as an outsider, I was living in New Zealand and had been removed from this particular IV program, which I believe removed me enough to create a sense of an outsider status in that I did not know a single IV participant (other than my connection to the director of the program). Not having any real knowledge of who the participants were in sample group two, created a type of barrier, which placed me on the outside. While traditionally insider/outsider discourses have been surrounded by topics such as race, gender, and class, for example, "such a view leads to a rigid dichotomization of the insider vs. outsider binary, which scholars have recently challenged" (Al-Natour, 2011, p.1).

To address the researcher/researched power relationship during the data collection phase of this thesis, Al-Natour (2011) underscores the complexity of the researcher and researchee relationship because researchers can often find themselves in scenarios where they are equally a part of the data as those being researched. Furthermore, Al-Natour argues that the next generation of researchers should strive to acknowledge not only the diverse influences in which the insider/outsider role can manifest itself, but also how the stories of the researcher can

illuminate meaning. Similarly to the insider/outsider research, much of the research surrounding researcher/researched relationship is also related to identity such as race, gender, and class. For example, Kirsch (1999, p.30) in the context of feminist researchers says:

I argue that learning about personal aspects of participants' lives during interviews is quite different from learning about them in other settings. Unlike friendships, which are built on reciprocal, trust and sharing of personal information, interviews only simulate this context. Relationships between interviewer and interviewee often end abruptly once the researchers have finished collecting the information that interests them.

While this can be true within the context of this thesis, and for some participants, the relationship did end immediately after the interview, I aimed to resolve this limitation with those participants I knew I was going to work with by building a strong rapport and a healthy relationship with the volunteers during the daytime at the on-site projects. By literally digging in the trenches with the volunteers, it allowed them to see me get my hands dirty, and more importantly, opened the door for informal conversations which helped to create a bridge of trust between us. Not all volunteers who participated in this thesis research worked alongside me during the day, nor was I responsible for coordinating their volunteer work. Several of the participants I met and interviewed in Tanzania were expatriates who were working and living abroad with other organizations in Tanzania. These conversations flowed with ease probably because these participants viewed me more as an outsider and I was not in a supervisory role over them.

Lastly, the limitations of this research are bound partly by the strategies used to collect the data. For example, as mentioned earlier, given financial and time constraints of the PhD, and the mobility of volunteers, a small number of volunteers were recruited for interviewing.

The Coding Process

Having laid out my position as a researcher, the limits of the methodological strategies, and the details of the ethics procedures, this section serves to describe the process of coding the

data. Given that GT is also a method of analysis, how I interpreted the data during the coding process will also be further discussed and reflected in the analysis chapter. Although the analysis process began during data collection, it did not fully get underway until I returned to New Zealand and transcribed the interviews, and accessed the Survey Monkey results. Moreover, the data collection for sample group three did not occur until October and November 2010 after I was back in New Zealand and able to conduct the interviews. While GT is essentially a method of analysis, which occurs in data collection, I wanted to compare and contrast sample groups one and three together as I went through them line by line. This method enabled me to go back and forth between my notes (taken during the interviews), memos (taken after the interviews), and cross reference those with the ideas emerging from the transcriptions. With 22 interviews and 75 completed surveys, I had a substantial amount of written data.

After transcribing the interviews for sample groups one and three, I printed each transcription and took meticulous notes following the line-by-line method. According to Charmaz (2015), line-by-line coding can present fresh insights into data and present possible leads to pursue. This enabled me to organize the data conceptually to make categories and summarize what each line represented. In this way, I was able to highlight and/or underscore phrases and words that kept surfacing in each line of the transcriptions. This allowed me to later go back through each transcript and search for re-occurring words or phrases across all the interviews, consider the leads to pursue, and then interpret what those leads meant, taking into account the context of the point the participant was making.

Although the interviews were semi-structured, I followed a general guideline of topics to discuss, which included a list of main questions and talking points, so that it was easier to line up each question across the interviews to assess the responses. During the interviews, the

conversation flowed naturally, and at times it flowed in different directions as participants told stories, which then prompted further detail and statements not directly related to the original question, but nonetheless relevant in terms of their experiences. By printing and highlighting reoccurring words and phrases, this allowed me to identify any re-occurring ideas that were expressed by each participant. For example, it became clear early in this process, especially in sample group one, that confusion was a common theme among the participants. Words and phrases such as “I didn’t know what to think,” and “the way they live does not make sense to me,” and “I wasn’t sure how to respond,” were noted and put into a category I originally called ‘questioning.’ I later recognized the emergence of the theme of confusion and placed the questioning statements that denoted specific confusion into the confusion category.

The survey results for sample group two were returned to me via Survey Monkey, at which time I was able to print each survey question including all the open-ended questions with each of the 75 responses. I looked for new themes while keeping a close watch on themes I had previously noticed from sample groups one and three. For example, with sample group two, it was also apparent that confusion was a predominant theme. In one instance, once the theme of confusion began to emerge, I started to keep a tally of how many words indicated a sense of confusion. Similarly, once the other themes began to emerge, I went back and used comparative analysis to keep tallies to gain a sense of the most emergent themes in what were originally several categories. Using tallies once themes begin to emerge proved to be especially helpful for sample group two. This is because most of the participants’ responses to the open-ended survey questions were more ‘to the point’ answers when asked to expand. While some participants responded with several paragraphs, this was not commonplace. This made the emerging

categories and codes somewhat easier to identify as opposed to sample groups one and three, where the responses were not as nearly ‘to the point.’

For sample group three, I followed a very similar pattern of coding to sample group one. Each interview was carefully transcribed, and then after printing the transcriptions, I went through each transcription line by line categorizing; searching for similar words and phrases. According to Jones and Alony (2011), developing categories during open coding can function to provide descriptive labels. It became apparent that sample group three had a stronger sense of their experiences and better articulated how they had made meaning of their experiences. It also became apparent that storytelling, as way to respond and expand to questions, helped them to remember their time as an international volunteer. Many of the same emotions, thoughts, and comparable stories to sample group one surfaced.

The process of line-by-line categorizing and coding used during analysis was particularly helpful given the amount of written information accumulated by 22 interviews and 75 survey responses. In some cases, it seemed I was ‘drowning in data,’ and line-by-line coding enabled me to stay focused and pay attention to which categories were continually surfacing. Some researchers using GT may transcribe interviews and begin coding immediately and while this can be useful, it was not practical for me while in Tanzania. Having returned from Tanzania in September 2010, I simultaneously began interviews for sample group three whilst transcribing interviews from sample group one and coding the surveys.

Conclusion

While exploring the process of meaning-making in international volunteers, an abbreviated grounded theory approach was adopted within a mixed methods research strategy. Using a social constructionist framework and an interpretive paradigm allowed me to explore

how volunteers make meaning of their experiences abroad, especially since volunteer's experience can vary significantly. Through the implementation of interviews in sample group one, I obtained a richness and depth of understanding volunteers who are currently engaged 'in the throes' of IV, as well as gaining a stronger understanding about their day to day activities as they occurred. Through the implementation of surveys canvassing those university students who just returned from an experience, I was provided with insight into a unique subset of volunteers, whose faith is at the core of their actions. Being able to interview those in sample group three allowed for a unique and thoughtful reflection on IV, which was mature and thought-provoking.

Following the tenets of a grounded theory approach through the use of techniques such as participant observation, note-taking, and memo-writing, I was able to better understand how these three sample groups of volunteers experienced IV on a personal level. Inasmuch as the research strategies were guided by my own interest in the subject of IV, having an insider's perspective was helpful to in order to engage volunteers in numerous informal conversations about their experiences. By engaging three different types of volunteers in different places in their journey of IV, a rich narrative and depth of content emerged. Before addressing the findings, it is necessary next explore more in depth the contextual setting in which these sample groups may take place.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS PART I

Introduction

Having addressed the research strategies employed, the data beckons to be explored and discussed in detail. Beginning with this chapter (and through the chapters that follow), this exploration begins to ‘peel back the layers’ of IV to provide a depth and descriptive narrative of what it can be like to be an international volunteer. Further, the findings begin to unveil how the thesis is analyzed, and how the thesis question is answered. This begins with a step-by-step description of a day in the life of a volunteer, which can paint a greater understanding of the nuances common in IV experiences, recognizing the emphasis of service in this thesis. I also include background information as it has related to my personal experiences in IV because this helps to paint a more vivid image of the emergent themes that are explained in detail in the following chapter. The themes this chapter recognizes are my interpretation of three narratives of transformation drawing from Bourdieu and Mezirow as guides to illuminate examples of how personal transformation may occur.

The first narrative is based on a personal transformation of hope where the volunteer is essentially open to the idea of IV as a means to become aware of important global justice issues. The meaning made by the volunteer leaves them with a sense of hope. The second narrative is based on a personal transformation of discouragement where the volunteer is essentially not open or turned off to the idea of IV as a means of awareness about global justice issues. The meaning made by the volunteer leaves them critical or cynical about IV. The third narrative is based on one where no noticeable transformation occurs in the sense that the volunteer returns home relatively unchanged or not necessarily impacted by their experience. This chapter is presented using narrative form as I use my years of international volunteer experience to help explain these

different anecdotal stories related to transformation. Quotes from the interviews, the surveys, and my field notes are used to support each of these three narratives. This chapter also uses Jones' (2005) and Kiely's (2004) study to help demonstrate the relevance of narratives as a means to frame meaning-making experiences within the context of personal transformation.

Previous Transformation Research

Jones (2005) took a longitudinal approach to assess if and how transformation occurred during a placement of young people (either from Australia or the UK) participating in a gap year program in Tanzania and Vietnam. The study found that the experiences in both provided valuable cross-cultural insight, knowledge, and skills for participants (Jones, 2005). While the study suggested that the developmental impacts on host communities were limited at best, the aim of the study was specifically to explore transformation in volunteers.

The study argued that volunteers across both cohorts experienced three transformations: "personal development, cross-cultural experience, and global perspective" (Jones, 2005, p.5). Concerning a global perspective, three identifiable trends emerged, which are relevant to the research of this thesis. Firstly, participants in both research groups pointed to the "realization of the complicated linkages between host countries and Western countries" (Jones, 2005, p.16). Secondly, participants developed an awareness of the modest difference they could make to affect global society (Jones, 2005). Thirdly, Jones emphasizes that prior to departure in focus group discussions, both groups were originally skeptical if they would volunteer again. However, in the interviews conducted mid-experience, most of the participants indicated they would like to engage in IV further, although there is no data collected on whether they did participate in IV again. Jones's study is helpful because it not only highlights three varying types of personal

transformation in international volunteering, but illuminates the ways in which IV relies on host communities for transformation.

Another longitudinal case study explored how university students from the US experienced perspective transformation with an intentionally designed emphasis on social justice. The unique focus of this study was the exploration of students who struggled to put their transformational experience into use in meaningful action upon return to the US. The researcher in this study had also been personally involved in IV:

As an educator who has facilitated an international service-learning program in Nicaragua for the past 10 years, I have witnessed firsthand the transformative impact that service-learning immersion programs in developing countries can have on US undergraduate students' worldview and lifestyle (Kiely, 2004, p.5).

Kiely (2004) highlights that most of the literature on IV tends to only focus on short-term positive effects of IV as a transformational experience and studies are anecdotal in nature in comparison to the studies on domestic service-learning experiences. Since transformation implies that a change has occurred, Kiely wanted to explore if this change was sustainable concerning 'life after IV.' Using Mezirow's theoretical framework, Kiely explored the connection between transformation and identity development/social roles for volunteers returning home (likely still in the meaning-making process of their experience). Kiely (2004) specifically adopted Mezirow's concept of perspective transformation, which emphasizes:

The process of becoming critically aware of how and why our presuppositions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable and integrative perspective; and of making decisions or otherwise acting on these new understandings (Mezirow, 1991, p.14).

Kiely's findings demonstrated that, in this specific IV program, transformation did occur on multiple levels, which is revealed in what Kiely calls an "emerging global consciousness" (Kiely, 2004, p.17). Discussed previously, this idea of a global or shared consciousness is an

important outcome in this study of IV because it could mean that IV may be transformative in the sense that volunteers are more conscious of their own behavior because of their interaction with others or a host community.

With that in mind, Grusky (2000, p.858) suggests that “integrated into a well-developed program, international service-learning can fulfill its potential as a transformational learning experience for students informing subsequent study and career choices.” Well-developed in this sense could imply an intentionally designed social justice pedagogy. Furthermore, Kiely (2004) stresses that critical reflection be an essential component of a social justice pedagogy. Kiely’s study is helpful to this thesis because, like Jones’s study, he explores varying degrees of transformation, but more so, he emphasizes an emerging global consciousness with sustainable transformation in mind.

While this thesis was not a longitudinal study, sample group three (those previously engaged with IV) provided an opportunity to explore how transformation may or may not have continued in the volunteers’ lives years after IV. In light of these varied ways transformation may emerge within volunteers, it is necessary to next explore what a day in the life of an international volunteer may look like, specifically within sample group one in Tanzania.

A Day in the Life of an International Volunteer

Exploring the day-to-day work of IV can help provide an understanding of how an IV program may operate and is useful in order to better understand how this thesis is situated more within service as opposed to voluntourism. This section also provides examples of the three narratives on transformation including my experience as both a volunteer and a volunteer coordinator, which can be a useful resource to provide one view of how a volunteer program operates on the ground. Below I have highlighted typical day-to-day volunteer experiences

focusing on the ones I have interacted with most. While I am familiar with the operations of several other sending organizations, it should be noted that this account is based on my position working with a specific host community and a specific non-profit IV sending organization in Tanzania in 2010.

For volunteer coordinators, strong organizational skills and strategic planning are required in an effort to mitigate potential problems. Volunteer coordinators arrive a few weeks prior to the volunteer to set up the logistics of the service sites, the meals, accommodations in the host community, and transportation. Like many other similarly related organizations, the organization covers the costs of the international flight, accommodation during the program, most meals, and most transportation for the volunteer coordinator. This is how volunteer coordinators (many of which are young and recent university graduates but do not have a career or the finances to afford travel to a place like Tanzania) are able to participate. There is an extensive application process that includes a background check and a First Aid requirement. In addition, all volunteer coordinators must have a Bachelor's degree. The volunteers are mostly young, generally ranging from age 15-19. They each pay a premium price (ranging from \$2000-\$3000 USD depending on the length of stay and not including international airfare) when they sign up to volunteer with a sending organization. This is where the funds are generated to compensate for the costs of the program operations and the costs of volunteer coordinators' meals and international flights, etc.

The volunteer coordinators do most of the preliminary groundwork in preparation for the arrival of the volunteers. What this means is that the volunteer coordinators meet with the point contact person from the organization, typically referred to as a 'country director,' who is responsible for the volunteer coordinators and is the main liaison between the organization

(normally headquartered in a developed country) and all operations that occur in the host community. When I arrived in Tanzania in 2010, one of the first projects I was assigned to was to meet with the chairman of the host community, with whom the organization had previously developed a partnership. In this meeting, we discussed which projects the chairman wished to be carried out by the volunteers over the course of the next three months. The chairman typically involves the school headmaster or other leaders in the host community to inform the work projects. The organization I was a part of in Tanzania does not engage in projects unless authorized by the host community.

Once the work projects are laid out, the volunteer coordinator then creates a budget and timeline for scope of work based on the number of volunteers and tools required (e.g. sand, rocks, bags of cement, paint). Once the budget is approved by the country director, and the timeline is laid out, it is determined whether or not and how many members of the host community should be hired to help in the supervision of the project(s). In my experience, the types of projects determine this decision. For instance, in 2010, the project was to reconstruct three classrooms that had collapsed in an earthquake in 2008. The instability of these classrooms meant that they were not safe to use, which impacted the amount of students in the other classrooms. Given our task of rebuilding, we hired two brick masons and an interpreter since the brick masons spoke little English. Working every day from approximately 9:00am-5:00pm with the same brick masons gave us the opportunity to get to know them and to learn a fair amount of Swahili. I was adamant from the beginning that I did not want to make decisions about the work project simply because I was in charge of the many volunteers that circulated through the host community over the course of the three-month period. I informed the brick masons that they

should be in charge of assigning the daily tasks and I would communicate those to the volunteers.

The volunteers who paid to be a part of this IV program were entrusted to my care. Volunteers can stay for a minimum of two weeks and up to nine weeks. This resulted in varying sizes of volunteer groups from week to week as we might have only six volunteers working on a project one week or up to twenty the next week. Their job was to arrive on site each morning and begin the day with an English lesson with the children. I split the volunteers into teams and provided arts and crafts tools so that each volunteer could create their own lesson. The local teachers in the school seemed excited that we were there, and they did not express any specific instruction or indicate what kind of English they preferred us to teach even when I asked them to provide direction.

After an hour of English lessons, the volunteers and I would meet outside with the brick masons to discuss the specific tasks related to the construction project for that day. This involved the use of our interpreter, and then I would divide the volunteers into teams once the projects were announced. For example, the masons would request three people to mix cement, three people to use the shovels and wheelbarrows to dig sand, and three others to paint. The teams would begin their assigned duties and await further guidance from the masons or me once they were complete. This process continued throughout the day until it was time for the entire group to return to our campsite, which was ten kilometers away (after 2010, all volunteers stayed on site and slept on the floor of the classrooms because the volunteer coordinators had lobbied that it was better to stay as close as possible to the host community).

Back at the campsite, an hour or two of free time was allocated for reading, cleaning up, and journal writing (these are also the times I would conduct interviews). Dinner would follow

later after dark, and then I would lead the volunteers in a ‘campfire discussion’ on a specific topic related to their IV experience. I would also take this time to follow up with individual volunteers. These ‘campfire discussions’ proved to be a meaningful time because as the volunteers grew closer to one another, they also began to become more vulnerable with each other and willing to share deeper thoughts, concerns, or questions. These times also provided volunteers an opportunity to begin the practice of reflection. For example, some of the thoughts expressed around the campfire were related to concern for the children they had interacted with during the day, or concerns related to the scope of the project. One of their main concerns, which, for me, was an indication of their reflection and critical thinking, was regarding what would happen if we did not complete the project by the end of the three-month period. Their concern about the scope of the work project was connected to the concern that the host community may not be able to finish the project once we left due to lack of funding or resources.

While the above day-to-day tasks were specific to the volunteers I was working with, I knew from other volunteer coordinators within the same organization as well as volunteer coordinators from other organizations, that this type of practice was commonplace. While in Tanzania in 2010, I had many informal conversations with other volunteer groups with which we would come in contact. For instance, because Tanzania is a desirable volunteer destination for Westerners, it was not uncommon to see other volunteer groups at the market in town. I spoke with one Canadian group who practiced a very similar approach to ours at their work sites. We shared stories, best practices, and lessons learned on how to effectively work with the host community while also ensuring the safety and well-being of the volunteers.

Given these similar but varying IV programs operating worldwide, there is no real way to assess how each IV program operates day in and day out, however, many seem to function with a

similar mission: to benefit the host community in a small way through a work project and to provide a learning and growth opportunity for volunteers. In this light, discussing different possible phases of personal transformation is appropriate. These phases are highlighted because during data collection and analysis of all sample groups, it became clear that not all participants responded in the same ways to the same issues. Since each participant experienced different issues depending on the destination and organization, the processes and phases which emerged varied. For example, while some volunteers became inspired by IV, others became cynical about it. By that same token, some participants did not seem personally impacted by their experience, which compliments Kiely's (2004) study emphasizing that personal transformation can be revealed in the volunteer in different ways depending upon the program and the individual volunteer. Given these three different levels of transformation, the following sections discuss the three accompanying narratives of transformation.

Personal Transformation of Hope

When I reflect back on my early experiences in IV, I can confidently say that most of these experiences could be described in a transformative hopeful way for several reasons. Firstly, as discussed in chapter one, my youthful naivety about global issues contributed to my transformational process in that the knowledge I acquired because of IV challenged me significantly. Secondly, the issues I became aware of while abroad encouraged me to think critically and reflectively about the operations of IV programs and global in/justice. Thirdly, I was hopeful about my new awareness and was subsequently inspired to engage further in IV.

With that in mind, I can also confidently reflect on my IV experiences and connect how they were instrumental and inspirational because of the way they influenced me to change my behavior back home. In other words, my IV experiences influenced me to be more civically

engaged back home. On a personal level, my IV experiences have impacted the way I approach everything in life from the foods I eat to the purchases I make to the ways I transport myself. What distinguishes a transformation of hope from the other narratives is that while discouragement and disappointment are likely inevitable elements of IV, in the end, a hopeful outlook about global justice emerges as more predominant. For instance, when looking through the data of those participants who had become open to IV as a means of global justice awareness, an ideology of hope was expressed. In this light, Mezirow (1997) posits that a transformative learning experience comes after a disorienting dilemma. If this is the case, it would stand to say that those who have experienced a transformation of hope, they were faced with a disorienting dilemma. The participants who had expressed some of the greatest frustrations with various components of their experience also expressed some of the greatest joys. While some IV moments may have been difficult for them personally, in terms of transformation, these moments came to be eventually associated as hopeful ones.

One participant from sample group one was working in a unique role for an organization which empowers local Tanzanians by making them aware of their legal rights. This participant referenced a year she had previously spent in in South Africa before Tanzania and how seeing inequality up close affected her understanding of justice:

I think many people coming to volunteer are already aware of what they perceive to be social injustices and in my experience, was yes, I knew that there were social injustices, but in Cape Town particularly, I became aware of the huge divide between the haves and the have nots. And the proximity in which they were living and it's so obvious there. The cape flats...you fly in and its townships of...there are millions of people living there and then you drive a bit further and then are people behind these huge gated properties and clearly very wealthy. So, I think you have the idea that there is social inequality and injustices going on but often until you come to those places, it doesn't...you just don't have the image of it as clearly. So, I think it really hits home so what was originally just a concept perhaps has become a reality and you can picture it and then when you go home, it's much more of a lasting image. It's not just the knowledge but the image of it.

This participant described how this experience in South Africa allowed her to see structural inequality in a concrete way. This is what ultimately inspired her to go to Tanzania for a year and use her law degree to work at a not for profit organization which focuses on legal empowerment.

A participant from sample group three, who also spent time in South Africa, made several references to injustices he noticed as a result of former colonial rule and the lingering notions of apartheid. He explained how everyone knows about colonialism or apartheid, but by living in South Africa, he was confronted with it daily, which impacted his experience significantly. His understanding of how colonialism was used as a form of oppression opened his mind to many injustices associated with colonialism and apartheid:

I could certainly see that the white man had brought about so many problems. I could easily see that the country had been Westernized and that was the way it is, but because of the white man, the black Africans could not keep up. Because the white men had educated them until the age of 13 until they could work in a domestic situation as a gardener or cleaner or a mine or whatever. So I saw the meanness of the colonial oppressors had created a dependent race...a majority of people too.

This same participant went on to tell stories about other perceived injustices he became aware of in different parts of South Africa he visited. In the wine region, local African workers are sometimes partially paid in wine, and he said he was concerned when he realized the injustice associated with paying workers with wine:

So there is a hell of a lot of different poverty there and impoverished children born with disabilities and children born with fetal alcohol syndrome and just another example of how the white man's buggered up people's lives by introducing something else by stuffing them really.

Even though this participant is speaking about negative aspects of his IV experience because of the injustices he witnessed, what is distinguished between this participant and those in the following section is the sense of hope that remained with him after his experience in South

Africa. Although this participant expressed how frustrating his experience had become in the host community due to some miscommunications and personality clashes, he became hopefully passionate about serving the host community, and he said he would go and do it all again:

I guess we are a bit kind of passionate about it. And people ask us if we would go back and we go yep. It'd be different though. We'd do something different. We've got more experience and knowledge and we'd do it differently.

The IV experience in South Africa was so impactful for this participant that he asked his divorced wife to send over their 15 and 17-year-old children from New Zealand to South Africa:

The best contribution I made to my children's education was to get them to South Africa for 8 weeks. We took them all around different places and to that orphanage where those babies had been raped, and to all of that stuff. And now, prior to them going, it was always me me me me, when you heard from them. Oh, I need a new mobile phone or this or that. And since then, not a word, it's just been...and they came back and are now raising money for VSA.

When asked what he is doing now since his IV experience ended, he indicated it was still difficult to speak to more than one person about the experience because he would just weep. "It was a hell of a long time before I could stand up in front of one or more people and talk about South Africa. I just couldn't do it. I would break down every time. It was just terrible. It was vicarious trauma. I was experiencing the trauma these people experienced daily, and trying to justify the injustice and you can't. It doesn't work." This participant went on to study social work because his time in South Africa had a profound impact on his life. He said that by doing a degree in social work, he felt as though even though he was no longer serving in South Africa, he would be able to make a difference socially back in New Zealand.

In light of this example, the ways that IV can be an individualized and personally transformative becomes clearer. Certain moments can assist to position the volunteer towards a transformation based on what they are exposed to and how they make meaning of their experience. As Kiely (2004) indicates, the right tools and a social justice pedagogy can influence

the impact IV can have as a transformative experience. Further, as highlighted in Jones's (2002) study, transformation reveals itself in terms of personal development, cross-cultural experience, and global perspective, all of which can contribute towards the volunteer's sense of hope about IV, and ultimately towards the way they may experience personal transformation. In sample group two, some expressed a hopeful outlook that went beyond their time abroad and means that what they learned from their IV experience may even contribute to how they view others in their home communities:

We are capable of more than we think. We can build awareness, we can travel to these places, we can share stories of what we've seen, and we can give a helping hand to the neighbor in the next city who might be a refugee from one of these places.

In addition, another participant was hopeful about the kinds of organizations abroad and the work they are doing, implying that her experience left her hopeful:

I think that the NGOs and non-profits are doing a great amount of work, sometimes even better than the government organizations. I can name a list of them that are doing sustainable work that empowers the people and makes them the focus over the needs of the organization itself.

In light of exploring personal transformations of hope, there are also IV experiences that render a different kind of transformation that are equally as important. These are personal transformations where the volunteer leaves discouraged, and are explored next.

Personal Transformation of Discouragement

Generally speaking, when people sign up for IV, they pay or raise a significant sum of money to spend a few weeks or months abroad. In my experience, they are generally excited to leave home and see a new part of the world, which reflects the connection IV has to tourism. While there may be anxiety or nervousness about living conditions, food, or toilets, in my experience, I have never personally encountered a volunteer who was overtly or decidedly

cynical or negative about IV initially. Whilst confusion (an emergent theme discussed in greater detail in the next chapter) emerged across all three sample groups, only a small proportion of participants in this thesis made reference to their mismatched expectations as being disappointing, or negative, or were turned off by the idea of IV as a means of global justice awareness. Furthermore, not many participants in this thesis expressed direct cynicism, but a handful were decidedly discouraged by some of the work of some organizations, and a few decidedly discouraged by the thought of volunteering abroad in general after their experience. In total, three participants developed a position which could be considered a transformation of discouragement.

Given this sense of discouragement, this section illuminates some of these experiences to explore another side of transformation. It is necessary to also emphasize the notion of hope and the role it can play in personal IV experiences. While some volunteers may experience a wide gamut of emotions during IV, it seems that if they leave the host community having addressed their confusion and/or discouragement, the transformation is ultimately a hopeful one. For some volunteers (and participants in this thesis), IV may not end this way. Consequently, a discouraging IV experience that does not address and unpack the reasons they are discouraged may not foster a sense of awareness about global in/justice.

In this first example, a participant from sample group one in Tanzania was working with a Canadian NGO. This participant was unique in that, while growing up, her parents mandated that she volunteer every summer. In fact, during the summers in secondary school, she had volunteered for a Toronto based international NGO. This is where she acquired much of her knowledge about development projects, and, by the time she was in her late twenties (at the time of the interview), had developed some valid concerns about the involvement of the West in the

developing world. For instance, when asked specifically about how she perceived development work occurring in Tanzania and the West's role, there is a sense of distaste in part of her response: "What qualifies some Canadian-based organization to come into Tanzania and try and make change? And is it altruistic? Cause nothing is for nothing you know." It seemed that her years of experience had given her an insight into the operations of certain organizations that she was not pleased with. During the interview process for groups one and three, it was clear that the longer participants were involved with IV, a stronger sense of jadedness about it seemed to prevail in their responses. This same participant from sample group emphasized this:

The more I do, the more jaded I become. The more I engage in this kind of work and meet people in this line of work, the more jaded I become...And that's difficult because you're all working toward the same goal, but you all have very, very different reasons why. But I do become more cynical and jaded at times.

Another participant in sample group one had wanted to go to Africa her entire life. After finally arriving in Tanzania, she confessed how happy she was to be there, yet was impacted negatively on a number of fronts as she was critical and cynical about some specific issues. During her experience, she learned about certain issues occurring in nearby Uganda such as child soldiers or the rape of children in order to reverse an HIV diagnosis (a myth in some parts of Africa). Coming to terms with these global injustices negatively impacted her:

I think doing this volunteer service has had a very negative impact on my concept of justice and hope for helping others. What I mean by negative impact...so when I travel to other countries and I see that things or problems are usually on a larger scale than I'd imagined. Sometimes I see situations and I think these people need help and then they don't need help or they don't want help because that's the lifestyle they like or that they are happier or more content in certain situations.

This example reflects her recognition of inequality and injustice on a structural level, but how to respond to this new awareness she gained during IV is ultimately discouraging. This participant indicated later that she was disappointed in her inability to be an effective agent of social change,

but recognized that there was not much she could necessarily do about it. “I wouldn’t say that I’m doing that much [in Tanzania] ...changing that much. I’m donating clothing so that might help a few people. I am helping with some construction for the village.”

When asked about her understanding of the small construction projects, she said:

That’s another negative impact I’ve had after volunteering. I think, as I said earlier, what we think people are in need of and what they are desiring, they [are] actually not in need of and they don’t desire. When I see other countries that have been Americanized recently...but when people are content and happy in villages here and the environment doesn’t call for houses or whatever...as long as everyone has sufficient shelter for their environment, I think that’s all they need. I don’t believe in building anything unnecessary or putting ideas in other people’s head that they need things that they don’t need. I think that a lot of cultures I’ve seen in other countries or people I’ve seen in other countries are a lot happier, and better off than Americans who are rich, respectively. But I know so many unhappy Americans and so many really happy poor people in other countries.

In this case, the participant (who was from North America) was turned off by the idea of ‘Americanization’ occurring in developing nations. Presumably, she is referring to Western consumerism and possibly the ways global capitalism seems to have impacted all corners of the globe. This example may reflect, in some ways, Guttentag’s (2011) caution about some IV experiences that perpetuate a ‘poor-but-happy’ outlook. While this participant was decidedly frustrated by some of the West’s ‘involvement’ abroad, it stands to say that she may not have considered or reflected on the structural inequality of the impoverished host community. Rather, by addressing her disappointment with the role of the West, she may still excuse poverty unwittingly. In this light, it is almost not surprising that her IV experience was discouraging.

Another narrative from this participant was one that was also expressed by several other participants. To some degree, almost every participant in sample groups one and three referenced a level of frustration with the evangelistic nature of some faith-based organizations:

The biggest thing that pisses me off, but it’s like a bitter sweet thing, is that religious groups have done so much to help people in so many other countries,

and that's wonderful, but I hate that they shove Jesus down your throats. And you can have all this to help your community if you say 'praise Jesus.'

Many participants, even some of those who had positive transformative experiences, expressed disappointment with evangelical organizations. They recognized the good in some of the work being accomplished, but they acknowledged the price of evangelism that came with the work, which can contribute to their disenchantment or discouragement about certain IV practices. In addition, two sample group three participants expressed discouragement about NGOs:

I feel more cynical about money going to developing countries because I'm not certain the effect is maybe at all what is intended. I'm feeling more cynical about just dumping money towards an organization that I feel like maybe might help people. I mean they do help individuals, but...I guess the answer is that I feel there is no reasonable stance towards the third world as a whole.

My sort of cynicism and jadedness about the third world help organizations grows over time. I think when I originally got back to the US, probably for the first year or two afterwards, I felt so high on the experience. I do think that experience was transformative for me, and I feel like it certainly has the potential to be transformative to anybody, but I probably feel bad, again, in the self-serving nature that I feel like those sorts of trips serve.

This last participant was far enough removed from his IV experience that it was apparent his time of reflection enabled him to fully engage with his thoughts. His IV experience was through a faith-based organization, and he later discussed how his cynicism is also probably more pronounced since he has denounced his faith. Inasmuch as he has changed since his IV experience, he was nonetheless able to recognize the transformative nature of the experience and how it continued to impact him significantly after he returned home, even if discouragingly.

These three participants provided insightful findings into the ways that transformation can be a generally discouraging experience, which can lead to an ambiguous interpretation of their experience. It is also apparent that IV as a transformative experience can have a wide range of effects on individuals based upon factors such as their level of previous awareness about

issues in the host community and their desire to engage with these issues. This point resonates Simpson's (2004) and Scheyven's (2010) critiques and warning of the harmful effects of volunteering that need be considered as possible outcomes, which not only may be discouraging for the volunteer but also for the host community.

No transformation

In consideration of the two previous types of personally transformational experiences, not all IV programs lend themselves to transformations. While some programs may intentionally design specific outcomes targeted towards transformation, or global citizenship, for example, some programs do not. Furthermore, not all programs that *are* well designed will produce transformed volunteers. Since arguments have been made against IV linking it to a neocolonial ideology, for instance, and as potentially harmful for the host community, what is the purpose of IV then especially if no transformation occurs for the volunteer? In other words, if the volunteer does not even experience transformation, and the host community is not empowered, then why engage in IV? If a volunteer leaves a host community and returns home feeling like it was a 'fun experience,' but did not engage in reflection or consider the social structures that have created or supported inequalities or injustices, then their IV experience may result in no transformation. This is presumably grounded on the ideology that IV should impact all parties, and in the least, impact the volunteer. Even worse, however, a no transformation outcome could also further reinforce preexisting cultural stereotypes an 'us versus them' dichotomy (Guttentag, 2011). With that in mind, this section exists to recognize that this may occur and to highlight some of the participants where there is no indication of transformation.

During my first engagement with IV in Thailand in 2002, I became close to several of the other volunteers during the month we stayed in Thailand. Although Thailand is a very beautiful

destination, popular with tourists, the work we were engaged in was not ‘touristy’ by any stretch. As discussed in chapter one, we experienced certain issues that were not always easy to see. When we returned to the US and landed at the airport, one of the volunteers I had become close to walked outside after having passed through customs, and fell to the pavement and kissed it. She said something to the extent of “God Bless America. I’m never leaving again.” I recall feeling confused because, for me, the experience of being in Thailand and working with an organization such as the International Justice Mission was an incredibly eye-opening, culturally provocative, and an overall transformational experience for me. The fact that I had spent the past month day in and day out with this person (sharing meals and tight living quarters together as a team), to have had completely different experiences, baffled me. I spent some time reflecting on how it was possible that the transformative process in me had a completely different impact on her, especially considering that we were together for a month. I wondered why and in what ways her experience had been so different from mine. During our time in Thailand, she had not confided her concerns with me or the volunteer coordinator to my knowledge. Aside from a few of the basic complaints related to daily nuisances, I was unaware that she actually may not have been engaging in the same transformative processes I was.

I have provided this example to paint a picture of how sometimes IV programs do not always generate any noticeable transformation in the volunteer. Although I cannot speak on behalf of my fellow volunteer, and I no longer am in contact with her, but I am aware that she did not engage in any other GSL experiences organized by the university. We did, however, keep in touch frequently the year following our experience in Thailand, and I recall one conversation where she informed me that she could tell the trip had a big impact on me, but not on her. She was polite and encouraged me to pursue other IV experiences. Given this example, it is

necessary to highlight a few of these examples from participants in this thesis where there was no noticeable transformation. It bears mentioning, however, that just because a volunteer may not have seemed to undergo a transformation does not discount their own personal journey towards transformation in how they choose to reconcile their IV experiences later. For those in sample group three with much more time to process their experience, I had initially thought that some may indicate no transformation, but this was not the case for anyone in sample group three.

As discussed in chapter three, Mezirow's concept of a disorienting dilemma is crucial for transformation to occur. Volunteers may desire to volunteer with good motives, but if these good motives are not met with intentionally designed social justice pedagogy, it may result in nothing but an interesting or fun cultural experience, which could be more closely related to tourism. Furthermore, programs that do have a strong social justice pedagogy may have no transformative impact on the participants. For example, in sample group two, one of the survey questions asked about how volunteering abroad challenged their beliefs or ideas about service, and some responses indicated there was may have been no challenge:

They weren't really challenged because I go on overseas services trips all the time and am a firm believer that whatever happens is service for God whether it followed the pre-trip agenda or not.

I don't believe so, however I learned a lot about living and serving like Jesus would have. I felt like His hands and feet...one the greatest feelings in the world.

With sample group two, an emphasis on Christian faith was clearly visible in their responses. Since many of the participants in this sample group desired to make a difference, by serving those perceived as less fortunate for the sake of their faith-related convictions, their responses contained evangelistic overtones. In light of this, and in light of not being able to interview them to ask them to expand further on what they mean, it is difficult to accurately decipher whether and in what ways transformation explicitly occurred. In some respects, the survey for sample

group two may not have been as affective tool as hoped to address how the process of personal transformation occurred. The focus on transformation within a faith development context should be considered for future research specifically for faith-based IV organizations.

Conclusion

In consideration of the many varied ways a volunteer can experience personal transformation, this chapter presented three categories of possible transformations including examples of each. This chapter also provided an example of what a typical day in the life of a volunteer might look like from a logistical point of view and also from my point of view working as a volunteer coordinator. Using Jones's (2002) and Kiely's (2004) studies of transformation in volunteer programs, this thesis accepts that although transformation can be explored and categorized, it is largely a personal experience bound by myriad of factors. One such factor is the emphasis on reflection as a means of experiencing transformation. These categories of transformation help to frame the findings in this thesis through the process of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness. As integral components in the journey towards transformation, the specific findings are unpacked in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS PART II

Introduction

This chapter identifies the themes that emerged from the data collection in the field and provides an introduction to the analysis of what these emergent themes mean and how they took shape during the coding process. Although four themes emerged across the three participant groups, the chapter is divided into sections based on each sample group in order to discuss how each theme emerged within the sample group. While these themes are connected to one another, it is necessary to discuss them separately in order to illuminate how each theme emerged for each sample group. The four themes are: desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness. Several excerpts from the transcripts are presented and discussed in this chapter to demonstrate how the voices of the participants have been interpreted and point to the different ways in which participants engaged in the process of meaning-making.

During data collection, many participants used storytelling in their responses to the questions. Stories proved to be effective in revealing how the process of the themes emerged uniquely. Further, while analyzing these stories and associating meaning and codes to their responses, it became clearer that storytelling in and of itself was a fundamental part of the emerging data which contributed to the volunteers' process of meaning-making. When asked a question, on multiple occasions the participant was able to explain or better support their response through a story about their experience in IV. This is emphasized up front because these stories can be used to demonstrate the process of meaning-making (Alterio & McDrury, 2002). It is also noteworthy that storytelling as a means of collecting data is traditionally associated with narrative as emphasized by Creswell (2008), but it can also be used in grounded theory, and is an important part of understanding the participants' responses in this thesis.

Sample Group #1: Those currently engaged in IV

Discussed in greater detail in chapter four, the participants in this group were all relatively young (31 being the oldest) and all currently engaged in volunteer work in Tanzania in some capacity; some for the first time and others for the second or third time.

Desire

Because of the relatively young age of this group, why they elected to engage in IV and what influenced their decision was a good place to start to ‘break the ice’ and move the conversation forward. In light of this, analysis began by searching for motivations for IV participation using line by line coding. The responses to these introductory interview questions were initially categorized under one heading of ‘reasons’ to assist in categorizing the reasons for participation in IV.

For the interviews, a general guideline of questions was followed. When participants discussed their reasons for participation in IV, nearly all responses could be categorized into three general categories: to help those perceived as less fortunate, to learn about other people or cultures/experience a foreign place, and to have an experience which would challenge them or change them. Few participants spoke directly about IV from an informed perspective related to the complications or debates about responsibility, state level development, or even tourism. It is worth mentioning, however, that sometimes it seemed difficult for some participants to fully articulate their motives because many were still processing their motives on a more substantial or deeper level since this group was currently engaged in the act of IV. In consideration of these three main reasons, which emerged in the line by line coding, the following paragraphs highlight some of the participants’ own words to demonstrate how these three desires emerged.

Concerning the desire to serve those perceived as less fortunate, one participant said, “Community service has always been a part of my life. I was just like, why wouldn’t I want to do

that? Come to Africa and help people?” Most participants indicated that these kinds of ideas were generated at a young age and from images they saw in the media of starving children in foreign countries. As discussed in chapter two, the portrayal of certain images in the media seemed to have a significant influence on many participants, and seem to be connected to their desire to help. Furthermore, these images may have also contributed to creating an initial awareness about certain issues (i.e. famine, poverty, dehydration), and, subsequently, an increased global consciousness. One participant in this group spoke directly to how her desire to help was motivated by images she saw while trying to reconcile her career as a lawyer. “I think we grew up with pictures of Ethiopian famine and aid on screen, which was really provocative and moving. And then I think it hits home when you’re working in a job like corporate law—it’s lucrative, but... it’s pretty empty.”

In light of this kind of feeling, Daldeniz and Hampton’s (2010, p.10) study of voluntourists found that “doing something useful” ranked in the top four motivations for participation in voluntourism specifically. McLennan (2014) discusses the delicate balance of desire in terms of altruism versus egoism using Scheyvens (2010) scale in an assessment of medical volunteers in Honduras. In this study, however, McLennan (2014, p.13) highlights how a “sense of personal fulfillment” may be more present in volunteers’ desire than altruism.

Considering the blurry line between altruism and egoism, the second category in the theme of desire that thesis participants expressed was to learn about other people and cultures, or experience a foreign place. One participant said, “So, when I went to college, I was like, I’m going to Africa. That’s where I want to go. I just have to see it.” She later went on to describe that she had initially perceived Africa to be beautiful and romanticized about an idyllic village at the base of a mountain. In this way, her sense of desire is connected to a sense of self fulfillment,

emphasizing the tourism component of desire. Butcher (2003, p.115-16) suggests that the growth of ecotourism in naturally beautiful areas of developing nations are partly due to this “desire to be ethical through experiencing a closer relationship with the natural world.” In a similar way, a desire to volunteer as a means to experience the ‘natural beauty’ of a host community points to the part of IV that is situated within a desire for an authentic experience (Pine & Gilmore, 1999).

Lastly, within the context of self-exploration, the desire to be challenged or changed because of IV emerged as volunteers perceived IV as an effective vehicle to achieve this transformation. “I signed up to be a volunteer coordinator because I wanted the opportunity to give to others what I had experienced, which really impacted the entire trajectory of my life course.” As a volunteer coordinator, this participant subscribed to the ideology that IV can impact people. Some participants expressed a belief that an increased awareness about global issues (occurring in developing nations) may help them understand themselves better in relation to those global issues. Others expressed a desire to learn a new language acknowledging they would be the ones to benefit in acquiring language skills. These kinds of motivations are also consistent with McLennan’s (2014) discussion of desire in terms of personal fulfilment mentioned above and is also tangentially connected to Gidden’s (1991) notion of life politics, implying that desire is intrinsically motivated in part through the expression of lifestyle.

In addition to these three motivating categories of desire, some other indicators pointed towards desire as a predominant emergent theme, such as family, friends, and church, for example. These factors were not necessarily motivating in the same way the desire for self-exploration was, but nonetheless played somewhat of a role in influencing a sense of desire. The following excerpts from interviews indicate that the desire to engage in IV was influenced by

family members, churches, and organizations. For one participant, her father played a strong role in her commitment to volunteer and do service work:

Well, my dad has always been huge into community service and he heads Green Peace in Mexico right now so my whole upbringing has been focused on doing community service projects in my local town.

Another participant was younger than ten when her parents first took her to volunteer:

...I already kind of had this intrinsic motivation or desire to help people less fortunate than myself. That started long ago when I was maybe even younger than 10 when I went to Mexico with my parents into the poverty-stricken areas...and so international volunteering and service and helping people that were not as fortunate as I was, was something that was already ingrained in my DNA...that I already found intrinsically valuable.

One participant (age 29), who had visited over 40 countries and had pursued a Master's degree in international development, emphasized how critical his first IV experience was in shaping his sense of desire. "I'd say that was the real turning point in my life when I went abroad really for the first time." The high school he attended highly encouraged students to study abroad, and, having always wanted to leave the US, he opted to spend a semester in the Dominican Republic. This participant explained how the experience of living with a Dominican family and not knowing Spanish opened his eyes to see how others lived outside of his comfortable world. Another participant explained that her desire to participate in IV came from one summer she volunteered for the UN in Vienna, and she recalls a specific moment she knew she had to work in international development in some capacity:

...I was enamored with it instantly. I thought I want to work in an international environment that shares important information that...things that are happening and going on all the time...

For this participant, being exposed to the kind of international development work in the UN motivated her to be engaged in IV because that was an avenue for her to experience a sense of internationalism. She went on to describe that part of the promise of working in an international

environment meant that she recognized the transformative power it had in her life. Mezirow's (1978) transformation learning theory begins to make more sense in situations like this example because it illuminates how desire can be related to the desire for personal transformation.

Regardless of the reason or influence, a strong desire resonated for each participant partly because most could recall a specific past moment in their lives when the desire began. As emphasized by Holstein and Gubrium (2012), being able to refer to a specific narrative in terms of desire, in the case of this thesis, can demonstrate how volunteers understand or reconcile their own reasons for participation in IV.

Open-Mindedness

The next theme of open-mindedness emerged as participants discussed how exposure to new customs or approaches to daily life were different but valuable in the sense they came to recognize, and in some cases, appreciate the different approach. For many, they could not have fully prepared for what they experienced. In other words, 'nervously going into the unknown' positioned them to be more receptive to unfamiliar customs. Also, because this sample group was interviewed *during* IV, their interviews provided responses that were fresh in their minds even up to the day of the interview. When asked about why he signed up for IV, one participant indicated that he hoped to "return home with an increased global perspective and more keenly attuned sense of the world." Two other participants expressed similar ideas:

I think you just assume that coming to Africa or India that you will gain something. You'll meet different people, they speak different languages, and they have a totally different life to you. I suppose that's part of the bargain. You want to see that. You want to experience it.

I could be waiting tables to tell you the truth and earn money, but it's just...I don't think any other place, any other type of field of work actually is as rewarding as seeing what somebody else's life is like. It's just the little window that you get the opportunity to step into.

It is implied in these participants' excerpts that because of their sense of desire to experience something new or different, they believed they would. Although the desire to be open-minded may be present, and the participants were arguably in a position to be open to difference, does not mean that they have become open-minded.

In a similar vein, concerning daily life, participants made references to the stimulation of their senses and how this also positioned them to consider different ways of understanding how others lived. Heightened physical senses may point to the ways volunteers are beginning to become familiar with new approaches, but again, does not mean they have accepted these approaches or become open-minded. At the other end of the spectrum from the excerpts above, one participant expressed how her colleague had spent so long abroad that returning home would likely be difficult because he had become accustomed to a new way of life:

I work with a guy and he's from New Zealand and he's with VSA and he thinks it's going to be incredibly hard for him to go back and he thinks it's going to be really dull. And that's his perception. He hasn't been back yet, but where else can you see what's going on, see all this? Look around and there's guys tugging these things down the street, women carrying things on their heads.

While these kinds of excerpts are helpful in that they may signal toward a desire to become open-minded or suggest a shift in thinking, a sense of open-mindedness is meant to reflect the way a participant has come to recognize, consider and, in some cases, appreciate a new approach. The example below signals how this participant learned about and considered a new approach in terms of gender roles within a patriarchal society of Tanzania, but did not accept it:

With being Unitarian Universalist, I'm part of the women's movement. So, coming here and hearing the chairman of the village talk about how the bachelor, a single Tanzanian man, can't make his own food sort of is crazy like global. It's funny that in so many cultures they assume guys can't cook and women should be cooking and cleaning. I've seen that everywhere I've went. I don't think it's right. I see it and acknowledge it because it's there and if you don't do that, you're fooling yourself.

In terms of identity and perceived openness about one's self, another participant said:

I'm more adventurous than I thought I was. I'm a picky eater at home, but when I'm here I try different foods. So, volunteering overseas exposed me to more culture which led me to be more open to other things like food. I'm more open and independent than I previously thought.

In the spirit of what open-mindedness really implies, the following excerpts demonstrate that a deeper consideration, recognition or appreciation of cultural difference or customs was beginning to occur for these participants. When asked about what he had learned so far during his IV experience, one participant said:

Community spirit is not limited by race or gender barrier. The inherent worth of everyone is not bound by constrictions of any kind. You can find something you have in common with anyone in the world whether it's the fact you have two eyes and a nose. There's community. The world is a community.

Another participant recalled a previous IV experience in Thailand when he realized that it was not okay to make fun of the Thai government administration:

I do try to learn as much as I can about each culture I go to...like in Thailand we [volunteers] would always joke and harass about our leaders and our president [back home]; it's okay. But if the Thai people do that, they might be shot. I had to watch what I said because if I made a joke about the prince even though no one likes him.

Statements like this signal that this participant acknowledges that the way he typically behaves (in this case, making fun of leaders of Western governments) is not acceptable in a place like Thailand. Another participant in this sample group spoke at length to the tension of being "torn internally" between appreciating the way "things get done so quickly in London" in comparison to Tanzania. In her Western mind, however, she came to respect and, to an extent, appreciate the differences in the people in Tanzania even if it was difficult for her in the sense that not many functions of daily life seemed to be efficient, especially the way time was viewed. "There's that

joke about African time and that was frustrating, but I think after a while you just understand it more. You become part of it. You slow down. You just become part of the machinery.”

In these last few examples, a sense of openness to approaching daily life differently goes beyond a desire to simply learn about the new approaches, but reflects an effort to value them, and in some cases, a modification of behavior. While a sense of open-mindedness was difficult to assess during line by line coding because of individual interpretations on what open-mindedness could mean, Mezirow’s (1991) concept of meaning schemes are useful in explaining how and when open-mindedness may occur. For instance, as volunteers are exposed and become open to new customs or cultural practices, this is where their meaning schemes can be challenged and begin to shift, which can signal to the process of becoming more open-minded.

Confusion

The third theme of confusion was revealed in sample group one in two predominant ways. Firstly, the way participants expressed a sense of confusion about a specific issue, and secondly, how they struggled to understand their role in relation to the issue. Confusion is an important theme in this thesis because it directly relates to Mezirow’s (1978) disorienting dilemma, which he emphasizes must occur for transformation to follow. Confusion arose for some participants as they began to question their effectiveness of their role in the work project, some even questioning if it was harmful. This led to questions about the entire structure of IV causing some to doubt their presence had any real impact in the host community. For others, this led to questions about their own upbringing and their Western privilege or values. In a long narrative, one participant summarized what many others reiterated about their confusion related to religious organizations. The full length of this is included to demonstrate the how a series of questions and frustrations can lead to a sense of confusion:

...it is very difficult but I have a fairly negative view of a lot of the projects and I don't want to make this a slam on religion, but a lot of church projects...I don't think are that well planned out. They may have a contact in a church down here (Tanzania) and they say oh well, we'll come help you, and they gather up a bunch of good well-intentioned people like good hearts. So many are like, yeah, we went and built a school. But it's been my experience that it's not often followed through upon and there was no interaction with the community. So, it's like these people who live in this community...they see a bunch of white people...from some foreign place who obviously are more affluent than they are come down and say, 'well we're going to help you and we're just going to build this building' and they build it all by themselves. Maybe they use a couple people from the community to help, but often times it's this group. They build it; they trash the place first for a week or two, and then they go home. And the building may or may not be finished. It may or may not have been needed in the first place. They say we're going to build you a library, but maybe they needed something else, and we're finding that a little bit in this project that...they think it sounds great. A library...it's education. It's books. It sounds great, but it's not exactly what the community needed or now they can't staff it or lock it or there's other problems that weren't anticipated and it doesn't...I don't necessarily see the community really appreciating that kind of work done to them...

From a personal growth and development perspective, the theme of confusion positioned participants to think critically and reflectively on the work they were doing. One volunteer coordinator had been struggling with some confusion related to her specific role:

...it is confusing because you don't know whether you're really helping people or not at the end of the day. I think my outreach goes more towards the volunteers that are obviously well off, and helping them expand *their* views on the world to not be so closed minded and little more open and at the end of the day... As for my role in that or how I prioritize it, I think my focus is definitely changed to just working with communities as opposed to fully facilitating students...people who are younger than myself...to view the world in a different lens.

In the way that the theme of open-mindedness can trigger an individual's meaning scheme, the theme of confusion goes deeper in that the disorienting dilemma could lead an individual to question their frames of reference, which, according to Mezirow (1985), include the cultural and psychological assumptions. Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Mezirow's concept of habits of mind are important concepts for the theme of confusion because volunteers who experience a disorienting dilemma in relation to the awareness of their own habitus may then experience

confusion. As they critically reflect about their individual role in IV, confusion may arise if they recognize they could be more part of the problem than the solution.

Awareness

The theme of awareness emerged in line by line coding because participants expressed a level of awareness of issues and structures which can contribute towards inequality, while also a greater awareness of themselves. The following section highlights some excerpts to emphasize how the theme of awareness emerged and became key in the process of meaning-making. Two participants below discussed their time volunteering in Tanzania and how it increased self-awareness about their own culture and about the role their values played in influencing IV:

I've come to see things in completely gray terms...I'm not the one to judge whether a culture actually needs my help. I can think that perhaps maybe the school, for example, we're working at right now, requires a little helpful hand in building a new room or library or what not. Yet at the same time, it's not a sustainable type of help that we're offering at least at the moment. So, then it leads me to believe that perhaps my [North] American culture imposes a lot of their values on other countries. I don't necessarily know if that's completely right either because I think we have a good intention but I don't know if maybe these countries really require it, desire it, or at the end of the day even appreciate it.

I believe that any sort of service that you do for international development or in the third world nation most definitely has to...go hand in hand with social justice because, at the end of the day, you are trying...your main motive is to find an equality for people. And that's not saying that one's better or worse again, it's just that you want something that's a little more even keel so that there's not so much suffering, not so much poverty, that people can have some sort of substantial livelihood.

When asked about global justice, and specifically how large transnational corporations may be influential in terms of global capitalism in relation to the impact they are having on equitable standards, one participant referenced another IV program she had been involved with in Mexico. During this experience, she had learned about certain migrant camps, which were taking advantage of migrant workers in what she described as unsuitable living conditions:

I think it's just going to take a lot of thinking outside of the box and maybe re-educating not the developing nations...but more of the dominant countries. Maybe we have to alter our mindset and not so much theirs. In all essence, they still live with very basic needs and I don't see them as being the cause of all this injustice or a lot of the bad things and negative things in the world. The smaller countries aren't at fault. They are just the innocent by-standers who ultimately received the worst consequences. I think it's probably us that need to change more so. And that is by being smarter. By not being so greedy, by making healthier choices, and I don't mean healthier in our physical health. I mean that as...healthier for society.

Given that this group was still engaged in IV, some participants had one or two other experiences abroad they referenced, but most did not, meaning that not all participants may have been given enough time for reflection to process their experience and critically think about their role in IV or larger structures of inequality. As discussed in chapter three, Mezirow's concept of meaning perspective refers "to the structure of cultural and psychological assumptions within which our past experience assimilates and transforms new experience (Mezirow, 1985, p.21)." This is an essential component to the theme of awareness because meaning perspective is the necessary element of transformation for volunteers as they realize the structure of their own cultural and psychological assumptions. The progression through the four stages of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness play a key part in revealing the process of transformational meaning-making.

Sample Group #2: Those recently returned from IV

In the following section, the emerging themes are explored through the responses generated in the electronic survey. This sample group was comprised of 75 survey responses from a questionnaire sent to 250 students between the ages of 18 and 25 who had only just completed a short-term IV experience in a wide range of developing nations (see chapter four for more specifics on this group). Their responses to the survey questions produced a wealth of information related to their specific experiences and, in different and similar ways, the same four

themes emerged from this sample group. This could mean that regardless of whether or not an IV experience is through a faith-based organization, the four emergent themes can be experienced.

Although IV is a personal experience in the sense that it is experienced differently based on the individual, for many in sample group two, their faith-based interpretations of the survey questions suggest that transformation may have been experienced on a mostly spiritual level. While this was not the intended outcome of the survey, their experiences of personal transformation and their narratives within the framework of their faith are necessary and valid in order to reveal their unique process of meaning-making. Nonetheless, these participants articulated their highly personal and spiritual transformation through themes of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness.

Desire

As emphasized previously, the most distinct aspect of sample group two is their commitment to their Christian faith. Remarks such as the following demonstrate this group's genuine desire to engage in IV as means to connect with their faith identity: "When we serve, we can't assume we really have the resources and ability to serve needed; we can only pray that God will provide that for us."

In the survey, participants were asked to indicate why they chose to engage in IV. The survey provided six responses for them to choose from with the option to tick all boxes that apply or to write in their own reason for volunteering. Not unexpectedly, 92% said they chose IV to help others, 68% for personal growth and development, 53% to travel to and learn about a new country, 46% for evangelism, and 14% to learn a new language. Their Christian faith is important to them but also helping others is the most important, which is inspired by their faith.

Further related to motivations to engage in IV, when asked about hearing stories of injustice or disturbing events abroad, 62% indicated they *agree or strongly agree* that they do *not*

know how to adequately respond. This figure is interesting in relation to the theme of desire because later in the survey, 61% indicated that they agree they have some degree of responsibility to respond to these disturbing events. For example, one participant's desire to help was strong but was confused how to effectively engage with the issues. "Sometimes it's tough to know where to start. I know I want to do something, but sometimes I don't know how to get involved or I feel too overwhelmed by how many different injustices there are." Given the Christian faith of many of these participants, many learn about issues in developing nations in lectures or seminars sponsored by the campus and this, in turn, may inspire a sense of desire to use IV as a tool to further engage with the issues. For example, my interest in the social justice issue related to sex trafficking in Thailand was because of a special guest lecturer at the university. This new awareness was a personally motivating factor in how I came to identify with a sense of desire to further engage with the issue.

In terms of serving others perceived as less fortunate, 51% strongly agreed they have a moral obligation to give freely of their time while 35% agreed and 10% were neutral. Only 2% disagreed and another 2% strongly disagreed. While the survey did not lay out measurements for what is meant by 'less fortunate,' it could be taken that the strong sense of obligation for this sample group to serve those perceived as less fortunate is marked by their faith convictions. For example, one participant said, "I am privileged. Others are unprivileged as a direct result of my privilege. I have a responsibility to them not only as a key factor in their 'unprivilege' but also as a Christ follower." In this light, the participant is acknowledging their own sense of privilege, which demonstrates some level of self-reflection, but also demonstrates how he understands his faith – as a responsibility to take action, hence a desire to engage in IV.

With quotes like this in mind, it became increasingly noticeable the central role faith plays in this sample group's desire to engage in IV. If they undertake IV with the intent to serve Jesus by leading members of the host community to Jesus, it frames their IV experience in terms of missionary work. By that same token, if volunteers undertook IV with no intention of discussing Jesus, but with the intent to serve others through their work on a building project, for example, it frames their IV experience similarly to sample group one in that the desire to engage IV could lie in the tension between altruism and egoism. For many in this group, their motivations for IV are linked to their faith, which helps to frame the ways they make meaning of their experience and, subsequently, experience transformation.

Open-Mindedness

Similarly to sample group one, alternative ways of approaching daily life living with the host community positioned participants to experience difference in a way that encouraged them to be consider new approaches. In addition to alternative ways of approaching daily life, some participants came to recognize how NGOs or IV sending organizations operated in developing nations, and for several participants, this newly acquired knowledge opened them to new perspectives. Some of these participants made references to learning about how partnerships between host communities and organizations function. On an individual level, some participants referenced the ways they were becoming more knowledgeable about their interpretation of their faith in relation to the service work. For instance, one participant said, "True service is not the act of giving to another but working alongside another to achieve the goal together." It is worth mentioning how for this group that a sense of open-mindedness can symbolize the way they might have become more open to their understanding of their faith. For example, phrases such as "I gained a more global vision" may indicate how this participant was coming to reconcile his or her understanding of the world in conjunction with his or her faith.

In consideration of the unique ways a sense of open-mindedness surfaced for this group, when asked what they learned about themselves during their experience, many referred to expressions of their faith identity. “I learned about my ability to minister to others where they are at through who God has made me...” This may indicate the emphasis on ministry in IV for this participant, which is a relevant part of IV for faith-based organizations and may also be for those of faith who participate in non-faith based IV programs. In my experience, faith-based IV sending organizations focus on the importance of identity development through acts of service and unconditional love. These kinds of faith-related responses may also point back to the desire to engage in IV -- as a way to become open-minded about one’s faith identity through engagement with a host community. The following response demonstrates how this participant’s time with the host community contributed to his or her knowledge about the culture of the host community in relation to his or her own culture.

I’ve discovered that it’s vitally important to learn something about the culture and recognize that in the people rather than trying to make them into something familiar to me.

In this example, the recognition and acceptance of the cultural differences signals that this volunteer was engaging in a shift of meaning schemes.

Although this may only be tangentially related to a sense of open-mindedness, a changed perspective or new understanding about the host community culture could indicate that the initial process of recognition and appreciation of cultural difference was occurring. In the survey, for instance, participants were asked if they had a different or changed perspective regarding the country or people they visited as a result of IV. 86% indicated agree or strongly agree and 14% were neutral. This could be indicative about the purpose of these trips since they are primarily designed to foster learning opportunities for the participants, and not necessarily to provide long-

term solutions to larger issues in developing nations. Here are a few highlighted responses, which were strong examples:

I did not know much about the Haitian culture or the people of Haiti before actually meeting them. I have learned that they are not just a 'poor people,' but they are a resilient people that love their country.

Before I went to Vietnam, all I knew was that they had a huge war. Now I know their culture and their faces. Now when I hear about Vietnam, I think about everything but the war.

You always have expectations when you leave for a different country and when you get there it always seems to be different than you originally thought. It's different to see it all in person...your thoughts change. You see things for what they truly are. I think your perspective should always change.

The survey also asked participants about how they felt in terms of different cultural practices, and this question generated responses such as: excited, energized, nervous, out of place, anxious, and overwhelmed. Given the purpose of the GSL program at this particular university, which is partially designed to bring students out of their comfort zones and provide them with learning opportunities, these feelings related to experiencing different cultural practices indicate that most of the participants may have felt out of their comfort zones at one time or another, which contributed to the way they perceived the host community. One participant said, "I felt out of my comfort zone, yet pushed to do more," while another, "Overwhelmed at first, but then I embraced the opportunity to learn and experience a new culture." This out of comfort zone experience can be a necessary part of IV as it can trigger self-reflection, which then for many, may lead to a sense of confusion.

In addition to experiencing cultural difference, over half of those surveyed agreed that when they think about volunteering internationally, helping poor people in need in foreign host communities is one of the first ideas that come to mind. Some of these responses were made meaningful with a scripture referencing the call of Christ to serve the poor, such as this quote:

“Christian missions stresses the need to care for the least of society and these people are usually those in poverty.” Given this group’s distinct and faith-based approaches to IV, reflection is important stepping stone for open-mindedness, and one specific response stood out because through reflection, this participant recognized the ways IV was a tool for their own personal growth and development:

I believe that a big chunk of the type of traveling that is done [on IV trips] is for the purposes of learning, more than it is for helping [the poor]. People will be helped; I just believe that we must remember we are getting a whole lot more out of it and that it’s okay because we are supposed to go and learn.

In consideration of this mindset and how IV may be used as a tool to help decrease poverty, it was apparent in this sample group that some participants were exposed to severe poverty for the first time. Some attempted to explain poverty in their survey responses, referencing how developing nations may be more vulnerable to exploitation. One participant, who had previously been to the Philippines and then more recently to Haiti, indicated that, for him, IV is supposed to be about helping decrease global poverty, implying that the flow of help may be one way from developed to developing. This participant’s view of IV, as discussed in the literature, raises concerns about issues related to how the West perceives the global South in terms of issuing aid or service, reflecting an unequal flow of power. These concerns also contributed to participant’s sense of confusion as they engaged in further reflection.

Confusion

The ways sample group two made meaning through confusing experiences also reflects their Christian faith, which was revealed in how they responded. For instance, “I was challenged in a way that I found myself leaning on God more” exemplifies the many responses that referenced the ability to lean on their faith when they did not understand or were confused by an

issue. Another participant's response to the question about ideas of service being challenged indicated not only a deeper sense of reflection but also a sense of confusion:

What interests me most is what it means for someone who has resources to come into the homeland of someone who has less resources and the relationship that develops from that. I am challenged in my idea of charity.

This statement demonstrates how the participant was reflecting on service, what it meant, and how it was personally challenging. Further, it illustrates the process of meaning-making, which in this example, meant that IV felt like charity that could potentially be demeaning towards the host community. These examples can demonstrate the ways questions, frustrations, disappointments or misunderstanding can lead to a sense of confusion, which can be a disorienting dilemma.

In consideration of this dilemma, confusion emerged for this sample group in the sense that participants referenced how their desire to make a difference in lives of others abroad may not have had the impact they hoped. Volunteers may imagine or even romanticize about helping poor people because of what they have seen online or in the media. Specifically related to this group, their Christian upbringing may assist in their understanding of their role to be servants of God or to offer help to the poor. In this light, this group's sense of confusion may also reflect a transformation of discouragement when they realize they may not make a real difference. One participant's response indicated this: "It seems overwhelming and distant. I want to help, but the selfish part of me wants to leave it as if it were none of my business." Feelings of discouragement and confusion create disorienting dilemmas in a Mezirowian sense and can also spur a sense of self-reflection as indicated by this participant's comment about IV: "it must be reciprocal and that one should not have the mindset of the saving the world."

This next example highlights how this participant's sense of confusion through a disorienting dilemma about his own identity in relation to IV:

International volunteer service to me is no longer the mentality of, I, US American male, go to this poor undeveloped and non-Christian place and people group to make their lives better because of my 22 years of life experience in America and my six years of being a Christian. Service to me is now circulating around the themes of reciprocity, recuperation, and reconciliation. Reciprocity because of the mutual exchanging of cultures that occur during cross-cultural encounters. Recuperation, because of how cross-cultural encounters can heal the scars of the former imperialist mindset of American missionaries and the prejudice for other cultures that my own nationalism inherently contains. Reconciliation in how the prejudices and misconceptions about a place and people group can be reconciled through a service that comes with the realization of being a foreigner. In other words, I realized that being an outsider to a community and claiming to help can be seen as both ignorant and offensive.

His entire understanding of IV was challenged, and his confusion about his role in IV was challenged. This particular participant's quote represents a good segue into the next emergent theme of awareness because it demonstrates how confusion can assist in bringing awareness.

This transition from open-mindedness to awareness via notions related to confusion is key, and will be discussed further in the analysis chapter, however, for now, it is relevant to discuss how the final emergent theme of awareness emerged in sample group two.

Awareness

For those in sample group two, awareness emerged in different and personalized ways.

The survey asked several questions related to issues about a wide range of issues related to volunteers' level of awareness of development practices, specifically as it is related to the NGO sector, IV sending organizations, poverty, and their own growth. Concerning the involvement and motives of NGOs, most participants did not have strong opinions either way, but of the responses that did have an opinion about the work of NGOs in developing nations, the most common themes that arose from these questions were responses related to corruption and misuse

or misallocation of funding. Some participants were concerned that some organizations might be doing more harm than good.

A lot of these organizations do a lot of good, but some also do not make honest decisions. It all depends on the organization.

This can happen when they [the organizations] enter a country with not enough knowledge of the actual problems occurring and act without the assistance of locals who do know the issues at hand.

I think there is a great possibility to help but also a great possibility to hurt. There is a fine line between providing aid for nations who literally cannot help themselves, and going in and messing with the infrastructure of the country.

These responses illustrate that some participants were critically reflecting on the motives and operations of organizations working on projects in host communities.

Some of the other concerns expressed by participants were related to the harm of creating unsustainable dependencies if host communities come to rely on IV or volunteers. On a deeper level, the potential for creating dependencies could further perpetuate a neocolonial mindset for the volunteers participating. Several participants in sample group two also made references to exercising caution around practices of development/aid in that they must be handled very delicately. “I believe in non-profit and service organizations; I just think it’s important to keep those that you are helping involved. To take a paternalistic approach worries me.” As this concern was expressed multiple times, it signals that participants had become, to some degree, aware of the power structures at play between the West and non-West as well as in the organizations in which they were involved.

To continue on this train of thought, when asked if participants think the work facilitated by NGOs or non-profits is positive, 77% agreed or strongly agreed. “Overall, I would say that they are making positive efforts and moving in the right direction, but there is still a bit of concern as to whether or not they are truly considering everything and truly spending money as

they should be.” While most participants expressed that they hope good outcomes are being produced by NGOs and non-profits working with host communities, many had doubts of sustainable change.

Given this sample group of recently returned volunteers, the survey asked if their understanding of oppression had increased during their stay abroad. 76% of the respondents indicated agree or strongly agree, which may signal back to the ways exposure to extreme poverty or injustices assisted to deepen their awareness of oppressive power structures (such as in the influence of colonialism). Moreover, how volunteers gained this understanding of oppression may be revealing about the kinds of interactions or conversations they had with the host community. For example, one participant said, “Being in that particular environment and seeing oppressed people, and having conversations with them gave me a better understanding [of oppression].” Another participant explained her experience in Thailand: “Seeing women in the sex trafficking industry completely opened my eyes to the idea of oppression.” Several also referenced the government as a source of oppression due to police corruption or lack of sharing resources with the poorest of the poor. One participant who spent time in Cambodia spoke to her increased knowledge of oppression based on historical facts:

We learned about the genocide in Cambodia, which was a major example of oppression. The people there are still feeling the effect of that oppression. After visiting a concentration camp and talking to some who were directly affected, my awareness certainly increased.

Learning about the history of a nation or an injustice experienced by the host community is important not only for creating a sense of awareness because it may contribute to a greater awareness of the social structures which may have led to the injustice. These kinds of responses are telling about how these participants made meaning of their experiences because whether or

not participants believed they could have an effect on an individual level, what is key is that they came to an awareness of the context of the injustice.

The survey also asked participants about the wastefulness of developed nations and how they made meaning of the amount of resources developed nations consume in contrast to developing nations. Nearly every response to this question expressed disappointment or disgust at the level of consumption of developed nations:

Makes me sick and frustrated; makes me want to educate those that are in my sphere of influence. I make changes in my life based on new realities I now know.

One participant did express that as volunteers become aware of their level of wastefulness, they could begin making changes in his or her own life, “How embarrassing. I also will begin to start downsizing my life and sorting through my own habits and possessions to see what can stay and what needs to leave. So, it's a thought that leads to positive action.” This finding illustrates that the way this participant made meaning may have invoked a shift in personal behavior as his or her awareness increased.

In a similar vein, several participants referenced the excess or consumerist lifestyles as disheartening and frustrating when there is so much global poverty. When asked if wealthier nations should be willing to reduce waste and consumption to obtain an equal standing of living for every person, 75% agreed. One participant recognized the difficulty in addressing the role of privilege has played in keeping wealthier or more powerful nations privileged:

it would not hurt Americans to reduce their consumption and it would give them a more realistic perspective on life if they did. However, I recognize the difficulty in getting such a large, privileged group of people to let go of some of what they may consider their rights.

In summary, the emerging themes related to the process of transformation from those recently returned volunteers were comparable with those from the interviews with sample group

one. Although the reasons that sample group two desired to engage in IV varied somewhat from those of sample group one due to a strong position of faith, what is key is the presence of the process of desire. The theme of open-mindedness appeared multiple times as many of these university-aged students were experiencing a new part of the world for the first time and, for many, seeing severe poverty for the first time. Confusion and doubt about IV surfaced in this group frequently and was compounded by the questioning of their faith, their own motives for volunteering, and the sustainability of short-term IV. As one student said, “It’s easy to move into a country and give people what you think they need instead of what they know they need; I get nervous that big organizations go in with their own agendas.” Awareness also emerged in the sense that many participants expressed some level of understanding of larger and more sociopolitical issues of inequality.

Having just returned from IV, and for some, being exposed to poverty for the first time, and perhaps feeling guilty about their own privilege, it is no surprise that this group had much to say and such strong opinions in favor of host communities. Their faith and Christian call to help those less fortunate also demonstrated their advocacy for developing nations, and this was marked by their desire to continue IV work in developing nations because this is where they perceive the strongest need to be.

Sample Group #3: Those previously involved in IV

In the following section, the findings are presented from sample group three, which follow suit with sample groups one and two as the themes of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness emerged as the most predominant. This sample group consisted of individuals who had engaged in IV at an earlier stage in their lives and were not currently engaged or actively seeking to engage in IV. Some of the participants had been engaged in IV for

a few weeks, while others underwent a much longer stay abroad, the longest being nearly two years. The participants' ages in this group ranged from 27 to 61 and the countries included: Tanzania, Uganda, Botswana, Mexico, New Zealand, Fiji, South Africa, Mozambique, and Nepal. For the youngest participant, it had been nine years since returning from IV, and it had been approximately 40 years for the oldest participant, signaling that most of the participants in this group had several years to reflect on their experiences. Furthermore, the specific responses from this sample group ranged greatly due to the time that had passed since they had returned, the range of countries visited, the age at which the participant went abroad, and the length of their stay. While this sample group is marked by their more conventional wisdom about IV given the time they have had for more reflection, what is interesting is how the same themes emerged.

Desire

The use of storytelling and the use of narrative also played a large role in this group's relaying of information and sharing of their understandings about IV. For example, when asked why they participated in IV, most responded similarly to sample group one in expressing either a desire to help others perceived as less fortunate, experience a foreign culture, or for personal growth and development. Also, when asked specifically about their reasons, interests, or motivations to participate, either a friend, parent, or family member played a significant role in encouraging them. Many were inspired at a young age because they grew up in a home, school, or church, where service was a central part of the value system.

One participant from Christchurch, New Zealand expressed how Peter Hillary, son of Sir Edmund Hillary, came to speak to a school assembly one day and how that speech is what inspired his desire to go to Nepal:

So, I guess it was probably more of the experience of going to Nepal. I don't know of anyone who's ever been to Nepal. This is going to be a great experience for a 16-year-old. It probably wasn't so much that we were going to do

volunteering. It was more this is just going to be such a great experience and being able to see a part of the world that is very different to New Zealand, and not westernized at all and because of the relevance to Everest with Sir Ed climbing up in 53, there is that connection between New Zealand and Nepal and everyone knows about Mt. Everest and Sir Ed. He's on the 5-dollar note. And he's a famous adventurer. He was the first to drive a machine across the South Pole. You sort of think well, I'll go there where he's been...

In addition to being inspired by someone like Hillary, some were inspired by their peers. One participant who spent time in Uganda was influenced because at age 19, his girlfriend had gone the previous summer and returned speaking highly of the experience. He indicated that his desire was partly to see if he was suited for missionary work, but that he mainly wanted to impress his girlfriend. A husband and wife well into their professional lives in New Zealand decided mid-life to go to South Africa. They told stories about how the idea of IV had been in their minds for a long time and explained where the desire originated from, and the steps that ultimately which led them to their IV experience. The husband spoke to his own journey of where his desire came from:

When I was at primary school, I think, I saw a film put out by VSA when VSA was just in its infancy then. Sir Edmund Hilary started it. He was the first patron...founder first, then patron. So, I saw this film of young people working in Samoa doing volunteer work and I thought wow, that would be wonderful. When I was a little kid, it's something I can still see now in my head.

It is noteworthy to highlight the ways many volunteers can recall specific moments in their life when this desire to engage with the international community in a service capacity emerged. Most participants like this one above can pinpoint a specific moment in which they heard or saw something that resonated deeply within them.

Open-Mindedness

Just as in the other sample groups, many participants in group three experienced things which challenged the way they went about understanding daily life processes and also their own thought processes significantly. Although years had passed since this group had returned from

IV, many of the participants in this group could still recall memories about certain aspects of daily life which they found interesting and, in the case of the following example, came to recognize as a valuable practice for the host community:

I was taken aback by how much the environment shaped people's day-to-day lives. There was something there called the Mango Fly that would lay eggs on people's clothing when they hung them out to dry and then they would hatch into larva which would burrow into people's skin and then hatch and fly out. A very painful thing. So, you either had to dry your clothes indoors, cover them with a net outdoors, or flat iron them after they dried to kill any eggs or dried them in a clothes dryer if you were rich enough to have one. So there was just a lot of things like that...different constructs, which may you go "Oh."

In one example, a participant was surprised by the burning of bodies in Nepal and spoke to his experience of coming to an appreciation about this particular cultural practice:

One example is the Hindus burn their dead along Ganges River...so you go alongside this river, it's quite a big river and you have these stone platforms where they've stacked up all this wood and on top of it is a body embalmed and wrapped in white cloth and that's...they burn them there on the side of the river and it's like...they would be 4-5 burnings going at any one time. And then they sweep all the ashes into the river and then...that's the route to their Heaven. And they do that a lot in India [as well] cause it's that particular river. So, that's like...well that's weird. I probably did start to think about it then, but it was a bit of a shock seeing dead bodies being burnt and then sort of pushed into the river because the body hasn't burned completely. You know when someone is cremated; they sort of have to grind the bones up, so there were a lot of bones and stuff. And they just sort of sweep it into the water.

Although this participant initially thought this practice was strange, he went on to say that he grew to respect the cultural process of how the Nepalese people tended to their dead. When volunteers experience (or witness) traditionally non-Western practices, it may appear strange at first, but open-mindedness may be reflected in the way that this experience goes beyond just an interest and on to a place of greater understanding and appreciation.

One story in particular stood out as this participant shared about her experience in Mozambique. Although she had been to Mexico and a few other places, this specific experience in Mozambique triggered new ideas within her:

Something I'll never forget one afternoon walking in Mozambique, we went up to this mountain and we were walking back down and there are some flashes in my mind, but there was this family hanging up their laundry and none of the kids were wearing clothes that day. And I remember thinking oh, they must be washing their clothes...Oh my gosh, they are washing their clothes so they literally have nothing else to wear! We had many long conversations about how that can impact our life. We're going back to the States and buy 10 shirts on sale at the Gap...or not on sale and spend \$50 or \$60 and then go out to eat and do this and that. And we were thinking how can this affect us? And I remember we were really bothered by it...and going through all this in our head and I think it was the most we've been affected as far as wanting to change our lifestyle in America or New Zealand. Because of what we saw in those countries. I think that was maybe the biggest thing for us...the clothes...I think because it was tangible for us

After she came to realize that this family likely only had one set of clothes, she later became confused as she struggled to reconcile her own Western consumer behavior. This example highlights how seeing something new and different may be a trigger to open the minds of volunteers and also begin the process of critical reflection in terms of looking at their own life and, in this case, access to resources. This kind of critical reflection may evoke a sense of confusion.

Confusion

For many volunteers, it is easy to become confused and in turn ask questions about why certain systems or social structures are set in place in host communities. As volunteers become aware of these structures, the meaning that is made is confusing. One participant who was a Kenyan citizen, but had lived in both Kenya and the US for many years was able to provide a unique perspective having seen both sides of the IV coin in Kenya.

When you have someone come for a short term and they've never seen kids with tattered clothes or never seen kids barefoot, or never been to a hut before. They've never seen a place where there's no electricity or running water, they see all these

injustices. You hear stories about husbands beating their wives or polygamy or all these issues you're really not exposed to in the West. Some people really get heart broken. They really crumble. They cannot...I've had [IV] teams go on home visits [in Kenya] and in the evening once you get back to where you're staying you're having dinner and no one is talking, everyone is quiet. They can't believe what they saw.

As volunteers become more aware of issues or injustices like some of those mentioned above, they may begin to question why the issues are occurring, and it is here they can become confused. For some, confusion is revealed in the way the volunteer questions if the work they are doing is meaningful. For others, confusion is revealed in the way the volunteer cannot come to terms with the reality of poverty, or that they may not be able to have the impact they imagined. As volunteers engage with the issues they are exposed to and reflect on why they exist, many experience helplessness or a disorienting dilemma. This sense of helplessness can influence them to think more critically about how they may contribute to both systems of justice and injustice.

Another participant expressed frustration and confusion around a large issue of equality:

I remember hearing a statistic one time that there is enough food grown in the world to feed everyone...the problem is distribution. What can you do? Does that become the need that has to be addressed? So, for me and for a lot of people, we become overwhelmed and confused on what we can do, and it's like okay what's the bit that I can do to help?

While this participant was perplexed by what his role should be in the alleviation of world hunger, his state of questioning and confusion allowed him to reflect critically on what his role *could* be or might look like in order to help better re-distribute food globally. His confusion enabled him to consider what his responsibility should be in the matter. Given that fostering a sense of global consciousness is a relevant aspect of many IV sending organizations, it implies that this kind of 'confusing thinking' may be helpful for the volunteer in order to usher them into a deeper sense of reflection and ultimately position so they can become more aware.

Awareness

Different levels of awareness emerged among each sample group, and it is noteworthy to highlight that this group's reflection of IV could be framed slightly more from a critical perspective, which was not always visible in groups one or two. This heightened level of criticism towards IV, development projects, or specific aspects of the non-government or non-profit sectors may reflect the age of the participants in this sample group and also may point to the amount of time they have had to process their IV experiences. For example, many expressed frustration or disappointment in the way that some organizations operate and also in the ways the organizations interact with the host communities. During one interview, a retired New Zealand citizen who had visited Tanzania on eight occasions provided a unique perspective on the frustrations of some of the non-government organizations:

The last time I was over there, I went to a meeting and the local people said that I was probably the only NGO rep that comes into their country from time to time and the first thing I ask is what can we do for you people and they express that most of the NGOs come into these countries and say, we are going to build you this, that, and other things, without proper consultation. In fact, they do do that and as a result there are many wrecks around those countries of buildings and water tanks that people won't use or won't maintain simply because that's not what they wanted to be put...

While there were a few participants in sample group one or two who alluded to this idea of being frustrated with some of the processes about specific practices of development or the operation of certain NGOs, this insightful is helpful to understand how awareness emerged for this participant. When asked specifically about their views on the ways they perceive development, another participant gave an interesting example that reflected a sense of awareness of the larger structure, but nonetheless, an awareness that resonated with his Western ideology:

I feel like the lack of central planning and the lack of an over-arching structure and goal often times has aid groups pulling countries in different directions and probably causing more strife than they intend to. I'm not going to say than good, I have no idea, but I've done a lot of thinking about food, population, water control,

all these different things and I kinda think to myself for instance, I could see a group going out and saying they want to improve infant mortality in Africa which is a great thing. We don't want babies dying and let's say they go out and help improve infant mortality. But if they do that without teaching birth control as population control, you get a surge in population.

In the above example, this participant might have become more aware of the lack of organizational structure or even the potentially harmful effects of IV, but this kind of awareness could be trapped in a lack of understanding about the global context. On one hand, while some level of awareness has occurred, it may not be the kind of critical awareness needed to demonstrate that this participant has critically considered systemic inequality or unjust social structures. On the other hand, the next example demonstrates this participant's acknowledgement of a deeper and larger more flawed structure as it was related to the project she worked on:

So you try to help alleviate poverty...you build a school to increase education, which I think is like the pillar of everything. You want to fix any problem? Education. So, I come here and I'm building a school, but at the same time look at the clothes I'm wearing. Maybe the clothes I'm wearing were bought in some factory where some kid, who has been pulled out school to make clothes, who can't afford to go to school, is making my clothes, bottling my beer, and packaging the cement we use to build the school.

In this light, awareness can emerge in myriad of ways, and it is relevant to recognize how these different senses of awareness emerged in the data. Having had more time to process their experiences, participants in this group demonstrated higher levels of understanding about issues related to the unique intersection of IV.

Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter point to four emergent themes (desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness) as processes or phases on a journey towards personal transformation. The themes are presented in this order because, during the analysis process, it became clear that this was the order in which most participants experienced these themes.

In summary, the specific reasons to desire varied among sample groups but could be summarized into three categories: helping others, experiencing a foreign place, and personal growth. Entering the IV experience with an excitement about learning and engaging in daily life with the host community was a large part of what expanded volunteers' capacities to see the world differently, and subsequently, experience a range of open-mindedness. The assumptions and expectations that accompanied their desire to volunteer was challenged as they realized that sometimes their expectations were not met, and this caused a disorienting dilemma for many. The timing of when each participant experienced confusion varied because for some participants, reflection periods continued months or years after they had returned. As many experienced confusion or a disorienting dilemma, the door was opened for awareness to take place and signals a step in the direction of towards transformation.

In consideration of this step towards transformation, it is necessary to emphasize that awareness was revealed in different ways for each sample group because of the ways in which the process emerged on an individual and personal level due to the variety of organizations or the faith of the volunteer, for example. Awareness also emerged differently and is to be distinguished from a sense of open-mindedness in that open-mindedness is related to the recognition, and in some cases, the appreciation of experiencing a new approach to daily life with a host community. Based on the participants' self-perceptions and my interpretation of the data, many seemed to experience a transformation of hope, while some others recognized the ways in which their experience was ultimately discouraging. Furthermore, it is important to reiterate that although the four themes of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness surfaced in different ways for each group and for each individual, they underscored the importance of each theme as a step towards personal transformation.

In light of the ways awareness specifically emerged in relation to larger global issues, it is necessary to highlight that awareness also emerged in the sense of a greater self-awareness. For instance, many participants expressed a desire to change their behavior upon return home, specifically as it related to consumerism and materialism. Most participants also came to recognize that they were ultimately the beneficiaries of IV in the sense that IV was designed to ultimately benefit them. The shifts from desire to open-mindedness to confusion to awareness are indicative of the process of personal transformation align with Mezirow's (1978) transformational learning theory related to fostering changes in attitudes, as self-actualization is cultivated through reflection. How volunteers engaged in the process of meaning-making of the complexities of such issues is revealed through these findings and points to the ways in which IV can be used as a means of personal transformation. With this in mind, the next chapter discusses these findings and analyzes their meaning and the implications they carry for IV.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS/DISCUSSION

Introduction

A growing body of research exists related to IV or voluntourism (Butcher, 2003; Brown & Lehto, 2005; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Butcher & Smith, 2010; Butcher, 2011; Wearing & McGehee, 2013), with an additional body of work that focuses on IV as it is related to varying elements of personal transformation (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011; Tiessen & Huish, 2014; Reisinger, 2013; Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Mostafanezhad, 2014). While the latter assesses connections between IV experiences, meaning-making and global awareness, it lacks some focus on the explicit role of *service* as a key dimension of IV. With that in mind, this thesis contains material exploring this particular dimension which is central to the thesis question.

The thesis findings presented in the previous two chapters illuminate the process of meaning-making for the participants, but also instigate concerns and raise questions about how personal transformation is experienced. The overarching argument this thesis emphasizes in the debate over the contribution that IV may make to fostering awareness of global in/justice, is that it is necessary to gain a better understanding of how volunteers make meaning of their experiences. This increased understanding of their experiences can signal the ways in which volunteers may experience personal transformation related to the awareness of their habitus and to the awareness of their contribution to systems of both justice and injustice. Since volunteers can experience various kinds of personal transformation at various times, it is key to understanding how their process towards transformation is perceived by them. This understanding can point to the nuanced ways they are making meaning of global in/justice issues and if their transformation gives them a sense of hope or discouragement. For example, an increased global consciousness, as prompted by a recognition of global injustice, and a deeper

awareness of issues such as poverty and the structures that perpetuate it can mark this personally transformative process.

Considering the recognition transformation process, the discussion in this chapter examines the findings in relation to the debates raised in the literature from two distinct but interwoven frameworks. The first relies on Mezirow's theoretical framework related to his transformational learning theory. The second relies on Bourdieu's theoretical framework related to power, societal influences, and social structures. The synthesis of their theoretical frameworks provides a new perspective to view the findings which helps to illuminate the broader sociological issues at play and allows for a greater understanding of connections between personal experiences and meaning-making. Furthermore, this synthesis can shed light on the tension between the desire to experience personal transformation and the desire to see global social justice. The work of both theorists is particularly useful in this chapter as explanatory tools to link the conceptual concerns and analytical findings of the thesis. Similarly grounded, yet distinct ontological and epistemological assumptions help to amalgamate the discussion of this thesis in relation to the process of meaning-making and personal transformation.

Utilizing the theorists' frameworks in combination with a grounded theory methodological approach led to the emergence of a grounded theory to explain connections between personal experiences of volunteering and personal meaning-making of those experiences; specifically, the connections in relation to a conscious awareness of the tensions between personal transformation and social justice. This theory is organized by the four emergent themes: the process of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness. For international volunteers, these stages are necessary and important stepping-stones in the ways volunteers make meaning of their experiences and are intended to help explain a process which

may lead to a range of experientially based personal transformations. In order for IV to contribute towards the journey of personal transformation it must foster an awareness of this tension between personal transformation and social justice. This chapter now examines how each theme serves a distinct, but connected purpose in the emergence of that awareness.

The Process of Desire

Following Glaser and Strauss' (1967) original conception of grounded theory, the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis allowed for the identification of desire as the first emergent theme. Participants expressed an overall sense of desire during the in-person interviews and this desire was markedly noticeable when reviewing the memos following the interviews. The theme of desire also emerged in the survey responses as participants expressed motivations and influences for participation in IV.

A sense of desire is key for the thesis because it lays the foundation for the following themes and signals towards the unique intersection of many current IV programs, which combine tourism and service. Introduced in the previous chapter, the sense of desire emerged from three sub categories explicitly expressed by participants: helping others perceived to be in need (which connects desire to altruism or service); a sense of geographical or cultural exploration (which connects desire to tourism); and of self-exploration (which connects desire to personal growth or transformation). This section discusses how the sense of desire emerged within this three-fold framework and how it is connected to the debates raised in the literature.

To introduce the discussion of this three-fold analysis of desire, it is useful to recall the larger global influences that have, it is argued, positioned volunteers to have a sense of desire. As discussed in chapter two, macro level influences which have enabled the increased participation

in IV such as the media, globalization, and a neoliberal ideology, can help illuminate how and where a sense of desire may be grounded.

One participant indicated that the desire to engage in IV exists because of the way Westerners have come to romanticize helping poor people in small villages in remote corners of the globe. This idea of romanticizing surfaced during interviews and in survey responses multiple times as participants referenced the role of the media and the influence of marketing strategies which ‘tugged at their hearts.’ As emphasized by McGloin and Georgeou (2015, p.5), “websites solicit customers through video clips that focus primarily on the volunteer experience and their individual desires: to help others, to be safe, to have an adventure, to have an authentic experience of the ‘Other.’” It was no surprise then in reviewing the memos from data collection how nearly every participant expressed some level of sincere concern with poverty, further expressing their desire to be a source of help in poverty alleviation. Several even expressed concern that they were morally obligated to help in some way.

These ideas expressed by participants can reflect to the influence of the media in its portrayal of impoverished people, especially those in more remote locations. As Mahadeo and McKinney (2007) suggest, the media provides avenues for the imaginings of identities of others, which can have political and cultural influences. In other words, as Westerners see imagery in the media depicting poverty in developing nations, their altruistic desire to ‘make a difference’ may empathetically move them to engage in IV, although Butcher (2011) cautions that this desire may reflect a naivety. Moreover, the romantic notion of helping the impoverished also compliments Edward Said’s discussion about the Occident and Orient emphasizing that the Western desire to romanticize the Orient often leaves the Orient misunderstood (Said, 1993). Given this view, this romantic notion of Westerners working in remote villages may perpetuate a

sense of superiority and could imply that their understanding of the non-West may be seen from only a Western perspective, instigated and perpetuated by images driven by media.

In addition to the role of the media, globalization has played an influential role in ‘shrinking the world.’ Specifically, the rise of global capitalism has arguably assisted in creating a sense of desire to volunteer abroad. For instance, the increase in the commodification of voluntourism and ecotourism may point to ways that those from wealthy developed societies are increasingly able to travel the earth with a great deal of ease (Vrasti, 2013). As this includes those travelling to volunteer, critiques of economic globalization and global capitalism are necessary when considering how a sense of desire is framed. Using the example of ecotourism, Gray and Campbell (2007, p.466) suggest that in light of commodification, consumption can now be viewed as a new form of activism, “a way for individuals to ‘make a difference.’” In other words, because of the forces of economic globalization and capitalism, it almost seems justifiable that many volunteers spend a large sum of money in order to experience IV. This may also serve to feed their desire to consume IV as an avenue to make a difference while concurrently feeling better about this consumption. Regardless of how this consumption may manifest itself, it is connected to a strong sense of desire and can be found in the place between nostalgia and fantasy (Appadurai, 2002).

Following globalization, it can also be argued that the rise of a neoliberal ideology and the increase of global tourism, and subsequently voluntourism, to international destinations (including the marketing of these destinations), has contributed to creating a sense of desire to engage in IV (Vrasti, 2013; Mostafanezhad, 2014; Tiessen & Huish, 2014; McGloin & Georgeou, 2015). Neoliberal policies, as discussed in chapter two, work toward a reduction in government-regulated markets and toward the growth of unregulated, or ‘free’ market

economies. This implies that volunteering of any variety could be commodified. In this light, neoliberal policies may re-position otherwise un-commodified enterprises in ways that “reinforce exploitative capitalist relations” (Gray and Campbell, 2007, p.466). Referencing ecotourism again, Gray and Campbell (2007, p.466) further suggest that these policies may position poor host communities to “sell nature to save it.” If a similar trajectory can be applied to all types of IV, neoliberal policies have arguably helped to pave the way for IV programs to diversify within the field of tourism, and thereby for individuals to desire it because of its consumptive qualities.

With this desire to consume IV in mind, the capacity to entertain the idea of IV as a leisure activity or engage in this volunteer imaginary could imply that only those who benefit from neoliberal policies are able to fully entertain this idea, whether to fill the desire for altruism, adventure, or personal transformation. In recognition of how some policies may privilege certain people over others means that it is these privileged few with a desire to volunteer internationally, and ultimately the privileged who get to ‘make a difference.’

This desire to ‘make a difference’ has not only been marketed, but to some degree, been taken advantage of by some organizations that, in an effort to grow their market-share, income, and profit, have capitalized on the leisure time and money of the wealthy and altruistic. The role of the sending organization then can become an important component in how volunteers come to frame their experience. In the name of global social justice, it would be the responsibility of these organizations to marry the needs of the host community with the desire of those who desire to help so that IV can become reciprocal, while still recognizing the desire may be grounded in self-serving outcomes for some participants. These compounding factors have reinforced the idea that only those with power, prestige, or status get to ‘do IV.’

Desire for Altruism (service)

According to Haski-Leventhal (2009, p.271) not all volunteering can be considered altruistic and not every altruistic act can be considered volunteering, but “the connection between the two concepts is so strong that one cannot speak of one without the other.” In light of this perspective, it is necessary to reiterate the number of participants who referenced their religious affiliation as their desire to volunteer. They felt called or compelled to serve others perceived as less fortunate than themselves because of their faith (see discussion about sample group two in chapter six). Congruously, religious organizations have been successful in recruiting volunteers with an emphasis on taking personal responsibility (Taniguchi and Thomas, 2011, p.339):

Many people volunteer, though in different ways, inspired by their religious faiths to serve the needy. In the religious community, volunteering is often more highly valued than donation perhaps because it better allows individuals to dramatize that they are living up to their religious ideals.

It becomes clear that for some participants in this thesis, the desire to engage in service is situated contextually in the notion of service to the poor, or from a sense of altruism directly linked to a sense of religiously-grounded responsibility. The potential role of religion or faith in one's desire to volunteer in an environment emphasizing personal responsibility is that it is an overt opportunity for volunteers to live up to their religious ideologies.

In an effort to further explore the sense of desire in the context of altruism while considering the role of faith, participants were asked about their desire to volunteer internationally as opposed to volunteering in their home town. In response, several participants referenced the connection between their desire to help and a sense of responsibility, partially accompanied by feelings of guilt about their own privileged upbringing in an environment with comfortable Western amenities. It could be argued, then, that some Western volunteers may feel

guilty about their comforts when they learn about the living conditions or suffering of others abroad, and this could motivate them to participate in IV.

While not all the participants in this thesis directly referenced guilt as a motivator to volunteer abroad, many alluded to this sense of feeling bad about their privilege. During line by line coding of the survey results of sample group two, this was especially noticeable because some respondents associated their desire to volunteer with guilt conceptualized through religious (Christian Protestant based) teachings and understandings. For example, one participant said, “God doesn’t bless us so we can hoard it all. If I am trying to love Him, then I have to love others, and one way I can do this is by blessing those people with the blessings God has given me.” Another participant said, “I don’t know what to think. Initially I have guilt, but when I get my senses together I do what I can to be aware of the resources I’m using and how I can share with others.” For these participants, their desire to volunteer may be linked to guilt via their recognition of their own place of privilege or material wealth.

Furthermore, Western volunteers’ perceptions of their own material wealth in comparison to the material wealth of the host community may be dramatically pronounced depending on the severity of the level of poverty in the host community. This may then influence their desire to further engage in IV as a means to relieve guilt by taking some measure of individual responsibility. This is why desire is connected to the debate over responsibility: a sense of desire to ‘make a difference’ may be framed as a *responsibility* to make a difference in the spirit of ethical living (Noxolo, Raghuram, & Madge, 2009). It can be argued that desire may emerge because some IV experiences have been marketed as a just cause in an unjust and globalizing world.

To identify with a sense of guilt or responsibility and then to altruistically desire to engage in IV, however, is potentially paradoxical and may also be ethically problematic. Martin and Pirbhai-Illich (2015, p.139, referencing Krabill, 2012) discuss how a “White Saviour Industrial Complex” has conflated a sense of desire and responsibility because it is founded on sentimentalism. “Although social and community engagement is promoted as a form of social justice, the reality is often ‘about having a big emotional experience that validates privilege’ (Martin and Pirbhai-Illich, 2015, p.139, referencing Krabill, 2012).

Approaching a sense of desire through this lens implies that through the act of volunteering, the volunteer may feel relieved at having fulfilled some moral duty or responsibility. For instance, if they participate in a volunteer project which benefits or assists a host community, they may feel better about having ‘practiced ethical living,’ which in turn may reduce their sense of guilt about their privilege. Moreover, this kind of connection between responsibility and desire does not take into account if the host community desires help in the first place, let alone help from young untrained Westerners. For example, while a host community might not have access to clean water, volunteers who altruistically desire to help provide access to clean water may point to their individualized sense of responsibility to devise a solution. While seemingly grounded in noble motives, the enactment of this responsibility and solutions may not consider the long-term implication of the impact on a host community and could even be deeply rooted in colonial attitudes of superiority. This means that a sense of desire within the context of altruism needs to consider different kinds of motives, faith, and embodied concepts related to service so that volunteers can better understand their desire to engage in IV and if their desire is justified given the impact on the community standing to ‘benefit.’

Desire for Adventure (tourism)

A participant from sample group one captured how a sense of desire was connected to adventure or tourism:

I did a lot of service through my lacrosse team back in the US, so I guess I got into it that way. During the summer, I wanted something cool to do for college...a little adventure, go off on my own away from everyone else and Pittsburgh where I live and do something good. I remembered that I really liked doing service in Thailand, but I wanted to see a new culture.

This statement suggests that desire of the participant to engage in IV is partially connected to motives for “a little adventure.” It is this desire for adventure that signals the paradoxical nature of ‘consumption of IV’. In this case, her desire to experience Tanzania, “a new culture,” was rooted in her imaginary of what an exotic Africa may hold for her. This volunteer later disclosed that she felt somewhat selfish for not returning to Thailand to volunteer because she wanted a new cultural experience in Tanzania. In terms of the thesis analysis, her quote aptly encapsulates the complexity of desire; it demonstrates how motivations to engage in service and sightseeing can be intertwined.

While, in certain respects, tourism or traveling for adventure could be classified as self-serving, according to Scheyvens (2010) and Sherradan (2008), IV does not always have to lean toward the harmful or egocentric side of Scheyven’s continuum. The desire to engage in IV has the potential to be paradoxical in the sense that it could effectively and simultaneously serve two seemingly opposite purposes: service to others and tourism for the self. On the one hand, the traditional concept of service or volunteering can carry selfless connotations associated with giving of one’s time for another (which still subconsciously may reflect the imbalance of power). On the other hand, the concept of tourism or travel has overt self-serving connotations in that it is associated with leisure. The paradox of the desire to volunteer internationally lies in the desire to marry the idea of selfless voluntary service with the desire to seek “a little adventure.”

When examined with the paradox of IV in mind, the theme of desire in the context of tourism also appears paradoxical. The tension between the desire to serve and the desire to tour arise in the same way as tensions between social justice and personal transformation. For volunteers, the hope and excitement about the exploration of the exotic as well as the hope and excitement about helping others reflects this tension. Part of this tension is linked to the way tourism has largely been associated with notions of mass consumption and commodification discussed above, but has since been framed as high quality authentic experience. In Bauman's (1999, p.38) exploration of the role of the individual consumer in a consumer society, his emphasis on living "from attraction to attraction" can be used to frame how the consumption of IV could be justified if volunteers see IV as an attraction (or the case of voluntourism, a destination). In this light, the paradox of desire becomes potentially problematic as it implies that the desire to engage in IV is situated in a desire to consume with the product being the impoverished host community.

A sense of desire for adventure also echoes sentiments from Pine and Gilmore's (1999) notion of the experience economy, highlighting the evolution of economic value and emphasizing that unique experiences are what some consumers want. Within the framework of tourism, IV can be a unique experience, and this thesis recognizes that some participants enter IV with this kind of mentality - seeking a unique cultural experience.

Desire for Transformation

Sending organizations in wealthy Western nations have provided an opportunity to fulfill this desire to consume IV. Conversely, they have arguably helped to further generate a sense of desire because of their emphasis on the potential to experience personal transformation at the same time as said consumption. Sending organizations generally design and market IV programs with the volunteer in mind, which simply put, seems selfish. For example, in chapter two, one

well known and highly praised sending organization, Cross-cultural Solutions, was highlighted because of their slogan: “Volunteer abroad. Change their world. Change yours. This changes everything.” Marketing phrases such as this imply that transformation may just be ‘around the corner’ and assumes that the act of volunteering will not only impact the host community, but will impact the volunteer’s life in positive outcomes for both.

The desire for transformation also supports the existence of a paradoxical dilemma because of the ethical concerns raised early implying that the use of a poor host community as an incubator for personal transformations is justifiable (Tiessen & Huish, 2014). Recalling the ways in which some IV programs may be connected to service-learning outcomes, many programs entice volunteers by capitalizing on the potential for cultural learning experience. This means that their personal transformation via the host community generally comes before the needs of the host community, striking a somewhat self-serving chord even if volunteers recognize in advance that they would overtly benefit (i.e. they had material for self-reflection and were doing this).

Bearing in mind the desire to help others in the spirit of responsibility while also engaging in a journey of self-exploration, Mezirow’s concept of meaning scheme is helpful in understanding that a sense of desire; meaning schemes are situated within the volunteer’s beliefs, judgments, and feelings, which help to shape how an interpretation is justified. In other words, if volunteers’ beliefs, judgments, and feelings about host communities in the developing world equate to poor, unfortunate, or dependent on the West, this can affect how volunteers may reconcile their desire to engage in IV. To use a cliché example, if a sense of desire is grounded in a sense of personal responsibility because a volunteer imagines helping hungry barefoot children in a foreign village, it points towards Mezirow’s concept of meaning schemes in the sense that

their desire is a manifestation of their deeply rooted beliefs, judgments, and feelings about how they perceive the Other in that foreign village. Furthermore, their perception of the Other in that village may not be accurate or, more paradoxically, grounded in the notions that the West is the only hope for those poor and foreign Others. If their desire to participate in IV is situated in an altruistic pursuit of transformation (of any kind), then the concept of meaning scheme can help explain where their notions of desire originate.

If a volunteer has a strong belief of the potential of IV to impact her life, it can influence her interpretation of her own desire to engage. As volunteers come to believe they can change the world of someone else while also changing their own world, understanding their meaning schemes better illuminates what may be occurring on an internal level. That is to say that the meaning schemes of volunteers could be either challenged by IV or paradoxically perpetuated. It is appropriate, then, for volunteers to enter IV with an explicit recognition of how their desire has been instigated.

In addition to Mezirow's (1991) meaning schemes, Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital can shed light on how a sense of desire may be used as a means to increase something such as cultural capital. Using this example, volunteers can increase their likelihood of securing future employment by indicating an intercultural IV experience on their CVs. One participant in sample group one used his IV experience in the Dominican Republic during high school to write his university admission essays. He believed these essays gave him the edge over other applicants and were ultimately how he gained admission to an Ivy League university in the US. At the very least, the cultural experiences volunteers may obtain by use of the host community as a laboratory for personal growth could help to advance them socially and symbolically depending on how they leverage their experience. Although participants were not asked during interviews

how they anticipated to leverage their experience afterward, during line-by-line coding, certain phrases such as “become more culturally sensitive,” and “understand my position in the world” were coded into the personal growth and development sub-category.

In summary, the theme of desire is an important phase because it is the foundation that the entire IV experience rests on. Specifically, a sense of desire is pivotal for the following emergent theme, open-mindedness, because desire is what allows volunteers to be in a place both mentally and geographically where they can be exposed to new ideas. Recognizing in advance the paradoxical foundation on which the desire to engage in IV is built, including the larger global forces, the next theme of open-mindedness is explored from a Mezirowian personal growth perspective.

The Process of Open-Mindedness

A sense of open-mindedness reflects a sense of becoming open to experiences, practices, or cultural difference as a result of living alongside the host community, and coming to recognize and appreciate some of these differences. It is worth emphasizing that although not every participant explicitly expressed that they had become more open-minded, many provided anecdotal information related to their appreciation and recognition of a new approach to daily life and cultural differences. Given this perspective, analyzing the sentiments of open-mindedness by volunteers is better understood using two frameworks, external and internal.

The external framework refers to the physical or tangible influences during an IV experience, which can contribute to heightened physical senses from a new or unfamiliar place including exposure to new foods or ways of washing clothes. This means the external influences are generally situated in the day-to-day cultural encounters with the host community. These palpable influences are only the first part of the theme of open-mindedness, as they usher the

volunteer into a different mentality. Mezirow's (1991) concept of meaning schemes is again useful here because these external influences are what initially challenge the volunteer's feelings, judgements, and beliefs. After 'experiencing the external,' the focus can turn inward so that the volunteer may reflect on lived experiences.

The internal framework refers to the personalized ways volunteers make meaning of or come to realize that they appreciate new approaches to daily living. This was generally marked by an increased understanding of why the host community did something in a specific way and how the participant connected this to their own life. Mezirow's (1991) points of view are helpful here because points of view can be modified more easily than a habit of mind. Taking into consideration both frameworks, the process of open-mindedness is about the transition from the external to internal. Examples of this process are discussed below where concepts from the literature are linked to Bourdieu and Mezirow's theoretical framework.

External Influences

Exposure to different ways of approaching every daily life can be difficult at times. These differences require the volunteer to consider a new point of view, perhaps one they had not previously considered. Moreover, these differences do not always equate to an automatic sense of open-mindedness. This kind of exposure to difference can provide an alternative approach to a volunteer's lived experience, which often presents an option for the volunteer to accept or to reject. Participants from across all sample groups visited a wide variety of culturally diverse countries with varying cultural practices. Almost all participants that were interviewed made reference to trying new and "scary" foods or living in conditions that were less than comfortable (e.g. mosquitoes). Many of the survey responses contained elements of participant experiences that surprised them such as goats running freely down main roads in urban cities or soldiers with machine guns at checkpoints, and nearly every participant made some kind of reference to a non-

Western toilet. These external examples helped to illuminate how some host communities live day-to-day, but also triggered volunteers to consider the ways they live day-to-day in the West. This trigger is important for the themes of open-mindedness because, as Mezirow (1997) indicates, openness to understanding a new point of view does not occur within the habit of the mind, but within the space where the new point of view is presented, such as a new cultural practice within the host community.

In consideration of what may trigger the volunteer, Bourdieu's concepts of field and doxa are also useful when examining this external framework to explain how traditionally Western volunteers may not understand how the 'game is played' or the rules. In describing fields, Bourdieu (1985, p.724) notes that "the properties selected to construct this space are active properties...as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field." The imposition of objective power relations is significant for volunteers who enter fields unaware of the power relations and dynamics that can affect their judgments and interactions with the host community. This idea is relevant to external influences because it shapes how volunteers come to understand the way the host community lives. These social interactions are necessary in order to comprehend perception and then action. Exposure to a new field with different doxa can also provide triggers that help to position the volunteer to be open because it allows volunteers to see and experience new cultural practices and differences.

Given the possibility that these external influences trigger a sense of open-mindedness, Mezirow's concept of meaning schemes is again helpful to frame how a volunteer's upbringing and background may facilitate a shift in meaning schemes. To take the example of the standards of living that many participants referenced, volunteers were challenged because they were accustomed to a Western style standard of living, which places a high emphasis on material

wealth and personal comfort. Water sanitation and disposal of human waste are treated differently in different places, and this realization encouraged some volunteers to reflect on ways in which they consume in their home countries. One participant discussed how much water she wasted after learning how the host community washes their dishes. In this case, considering something as simple as a new approach to washing dishes triggered her to see a new point of view because she had to consider and reflect on the way she completed the task differently. Through these kinds of external influences, a more critical reflection is a necessary step for the volunteer to make meaning of their own behavior in light of new information.

While volunteers may have an idea ahead of time of what to expect in terms of difference in day-to-day living, actually experiencing these environments with their physical senses contributes to their shift in meaning schemes and, subsequently, to a greater sense of open-mindedness. To assist in understanding how something like a differently styled toilet could contribute to a sense of open-mindedness, anthropologist Mary Douglas' (1966) concepts about hygiene, dirt, and rituals can help to illuminate the socially constructed nature of these cultural differences. In volunteers' Western minds, the dirtiness or 'scariness' of non-Western toilets, for instance, symbolizes their socially constructed ideas or expectations about purity or cleanliness. Douglas (1966) suggests that dirt has been equated with disorder and that the Western idea of eliminating dirt is to provide a sense of order and organization.

In the previous chapter, an example was highlighted of a participant who visited Nepal and saw how the deceased were burned followed by the placement of their ashes into the river. This approach was different than what he was culturally accustomed to. He expressed confusion and said it was "weird," however, upon reflection came to recognize and appreciate this different

method of tending to the deceased by understanding his own society's practices as culturally specific.

With this example in mind, external influences help to shed light on why diverse practices can contribute to the way a volunteer may come to consider and appreciate different approaches. A sense of open-mindedness is not likely to occur unless the volunteer has come to validate the different practice. This is not to say that the volunteer's job is to validate a non-Western practice as legitimate, but rather the necessity of recognizing the inherent value in a different approach to their own. This recognition can indicate that a new meaning scheme is being constructed.

From this consideration of external influences, this thesis argues that experiencing these 'tangible' differences (external influences) in daily life through heightened physical senses can assist in the process of open-mindedness, which is about the recognition and appreciation of a different approach. Moreover, this recognition and appreciation is vital in order to usher in a sense of deeper reflection on an individual's meaning schemes. If a volunteer has not come to appreciate something new that they were exposed to, they may likely not experience a sense of open-mindedness and subsequently, not challenge their meaning schemes. The ability to look back and reflect on a lived experience begins the process of developing a sense of open-mindedness which, in turn, may help volunteers to realize where their own set of beliefs and values may be situated. This begins to shape the process of open-mindedness and may stimulate in volunteers a deeper sense of inward self-reflection and a more global perspective.

Internal Influences

"It was difficult to understand how and why they [the host community] lived, but it is their norm, and once I was there for five weeks, I was able to adapt." For this participant, the ability to adapt signals a recognition (trigger) of a new point of view. Recognizing a new point of

view is important for the theme of open-mindedness because in this recognition, the external influences converge to illuminate to the volunteer that they are beginning to undergo personal change. In this example, the participant realized she was able to adapt. This realization not only points to her process of meaning-making, but to a new understanding of herself.

Concerning material wealth, another participant indicated how learning about the host community influenced the way she perceived her own material wealth.

Being there, I think, showed me it was not that they really needed what I had, rather, it was almost as if I did not even need what I had at home. Their situations are unfortunate, and if I could, I would give them all the comfort and security that I feel daily. However, they had just as much to offer as I did regardless of their possessions. They live a full life, perhaps even fuller than many do, because they experience many things that citizens of a first world country will not have the chance to.

This quote signals an internal negotiation process where the participant considered her own material wealth in relation to living a full or meaningful life. In this regard, her IV experience was mind-opening as she came to realize and appreciate that material possessions do not always equate to fulfilment. By that same token, however, one cannot conclude that this participant had reached a deeper level of awareness about the host community's lack of material wealth.

Echoing Guttentag's (2011) concerns previously discussed, a 'poor-but-happy' mentality is not an excuse to justify poverty. Discussed in the awareness section, this difference is emphasized here because this is what begins to distinguish the theme of open-mindedness and awareness.

In this case, a sense of open-mindedness and self-reflection allowed this participant to understand herself differently as her meaning scheme about material wealth was challenged. Shifts in meaning schemes can contribute to Mezirow's (1997) concept of subjective reframing. This occurs when the volunteer reflects and modifies assumptions and norms that were previously taken for granted. According to Mezirow (2000), this stage is important to the

meaning-making process for volunteers because if their assumptions and norms are not challenged through these external exposures, then no modification can occur.

When considered from a Bourdieusian point of view, a sense of open-mindedness can also reflect the early stages of a shift in a volunteer's durable disposition (Bourdieu, 1985). For example, one participant in sample group two wrote that the challenges of living with a host community so culturally different from the US allowed her to question her own beliefs and values and become open to perspectives she would not have otherwise considered. Discussed later in this chapter, this questioning of beliefs and values can point to the initial emergence of an awareness of one's own social and cultural ways of seeing and being in the world, or *habitus*. As Western-oriented volunteers come into a new and unfamiliar place, their assumptions about how to conduct daily life are often rooted in privileged values. As such, they have little power to change the practices of daily life in this new and unfamiliar environment, which can challenge their sense of power. In new social contexts (or fields) a different hierarchy of capital is at play. For the volunteers in this thesis, this loss of cultural capital, which accrued according to their Western values, surfaced throughout their experiences. This kept them in a constant state of learning and reflection, and contributed to their sense of meaning-making.

Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical assertion about how economic capital can enable cultural capital becomes relevant when the cost of a sense of open-mindedness is considered. For example, if acquiring 'mind-opening' cultural experiences is only possible when one has the ability to afford international travel opportunities, it is clear that an accumulation of economic capital enables the acquisition of cultural capital. In this way, the acknowledgment of economic capital can illuminate the larger global forces and societal structures enabling those from wealthy and capitalist societies to travel to foreign places and, as a result, acquire cultural capital. Again,

the notion of using host communities as a pseudo-laboratory to foster or cultivate cultural capital so that Westerners can become more culturally competent not only arises from the paradoxical nature of IV but also raises the question of whether or not IV is ethically problematic. If IV experiences can raise volunteers up in the hierarchy of their own system of power and status while positioning them strategically to make meaning of their newly acquired cultural capital (as they are positioned to become more open minded), it does not necessarily allow those lacking the resources to do the same. Similar to the discussion on who is culturally prompted to desire international volunteering, this articulation of existing social hierarchy means that experiencing a sense of open-mindedness is limited to the privileged.

In summary, while open-mindedness is a necessary phase in the personal growth process for volunteers, it also parallels some of the concerns about IV raised in the literature. In terms of personal transformation, open-mindedness is a stepping-stone that exposes volunteers to new ideas so that they are in a position to begin the process of reflexivity. Bourdieu and Mezirow contribute to the understanding of exposure to new ideas or new social spaces. Such exposure can position volunteers to be vulnerable, consider new approaches, and then reflect on these approaches even as the process simultaneously enhances volunteers' own cultural capital. Open-mindedness sets the stage for the third theme of confusion as volunteers begin to question what they see and issues they are exposed to.

The Process of Confusion

A sense of confusion emerged from the data in different ways for different participants across the three sample groups. Nearly every participant expressed some degree confusion regardless of whether it was related to aspects of tourism, service, development, or another factor. It is theorized that this confusion represents the disorienting dilemma that serves as a

conduit for the volunteer to engage in a deeper sense of meaning-making about their experience, which Mezirow (1991) emphasizes is necessary for transformation to occur.

In the way that a sense of desire can signal a sense of hope and excitement about the potential for IV, confusion can signal a sense of discouragement because the hope and excitement of the volunteer imagination is challenged. In the interviews and survey responses, several participants expressed mismatched expectations and difficulty balancing and integrating real life experiences with pre-conceived notions of IV. Taking this idea of difficulty experienced as confusion, this section highlights how confusion emerged in various ways. While some participants expressed confusion in terms of generally unmet expectations, others expressed confusion and doubt about the work of NGOs or sending organizations. By that same token, some participants also expressed confusion or frustration with aspects related to the work projects; some were confused about cultural differences of the host community while others expressed confusion about larger issues related to injustice. In order to help answer the thesis question, it is important to understand how confusion emerges as it can point to ways volunteers experience personal transformation, whether it be through a sense of hope or discouragement. A sense of confusion also points to the ways meaning can be made of global complexities as well as social, cultural, and personal issues.

The first expression of confusion discussed is related to unmet expectations about the work project. For example, a sense of discouragement was expressed by many participants after realizing that their work may not achieve what they had imagined. Brown and Morrison (2003) suggest that volunteers in work projects are likely unskilled in the area of work they are assigned (whether that is teaching English or a construction project). For most participants in sample group one, the work project was to rebuild a classroom which had collapsed in an earthquake. In

this case, the likelihood of a participant having specialized training in brick-laying, for instance, is slim. Guttentag (2011) further stresses that in these kind of projects, most of the volunteers remain for a short period of time, which may impact if the project is completed. With these concerns in mind, a sense of confusion emerged as participants questioned their motives as well as the motives of the sending organization. As discussed in chapter six, some participants also struggled to find meaning in work projects because it was uncertain if the host community wanted or even needed the project to begin with. In one instance, a participant said his group's project was merely created for the sake of the volunteers, rather than for the benefit of the host community. Due to a lack of strategic planning by the sending organizations and a lack of proper consultation with the leaders of the host community, some projects touted as mutually beneficial did not live up to that expectation.

In a worst-case scenario, if IV sending organizations implement a project without an adequately developed relationship with the host community, volunteers may perceive the host community's subtle dissatisfaction with efforts of the group, which occurred for several volunteers in this thesis. Discrepancies between stated and actual outcomes may reflect formerly existing colonial power structures (Wearing & McGehee, 2013), which may linger as the needs of the host community are usurped by Westerners. One participant spoke to this struggle directly during his experience in Tanzania:

The majority of the people running the projects are not development professionals...they're not trained in how to...best benefit a community. I think most people are very smart, have good gut instincts, have done some reading, and are keen to do the best thing for that community and they work with the leaders of the community and I think by and large they are [the organizations] making a positive impact in those places. But I think there are times when money is not used most efficiently. Maybe we're painting a classroom, and spending \$1000 on paint for an entire...maybe painting a whole school, but maybe we could've spent that \$1000 buying a photocopy machine for the school so they could produce assignments and paper and reading work for the kids who didn't have

notebooks...or I don't really know. I just know that it's a tricky subject for us [Westerners] to determine what is best for a community. It's also a very sort of commanding for us to come in and say we know what you need...we rarely do that but, even the concept of helping the community is in and of itself a little bit controversial and confusing.

Given this example, it makes sense how confusion can emerge if Westerners are 'commanding' the host community. If organizations enter a host community with a sense of command or authority, it may point to or reinforce the contemporary forms of exploitation that accompany a neoliberal global economy (Sharp, 2009). This means that volunteers and sending organizations likely need historical and cultural training about colonialism and its effects before engaging in IV. Without it, untrained volunteers may compromise the relationship with the host community. Even so, this kind of confusion is pivotal to ushering in critical reflection on a volunteer's own position in relation to systems of injustice and structures of inequality.

In addition to the concerns about the work and questioning the efficacy of the projects, some participants took further questioned if their presence in the host community might actually cause more harm than help. In one instance in sample group one, a miscommunication occurred where volunteers were using the host community's drinking water to clean their shovels and other tools. In their attempt to keep the tools in good condition after a day of work, they mistook the drinking water as washing water. By using this scarce resource to clean the tools, it made what initially seemed like dirty water even dirtier. In this instance, it was an awkward conversation when one of the schoolteachers gently approached me and asked me to instruct the volunteers to cease using that water. However well-intended, these kinds of misunderstanding can not only exacerbate tense relations between Westerners and host communities, but potentially cause a harm if a resource like drinking water is compromised because of volunteers.

Extending this example, as volunteers realize their mistakes, they may then become confused or question the condition of the host community's drinking water. Within this line of questioning during the interviews, a growing awareness about issues such as reliable access to water arose. In reviewing the memos, nearly every participant in sample group one expressed concern related to misinformation about resources. In this particular incident of muddying the waters, the volunteers confused the host community's water because the water did not appear to be potable by their Western standards. This assumption reveals the notions of Western standards of living, specifically about what is considered clean or unclean, being applied out of appropriate social context. This lack of context can set the scene for potential mistakes or miscommunications. Although the volunteers felt remorse once they realized their mistake and immediately ceased washing the tools in this way, the water was contaminated and could not be 'uncontaminated.' This particular incident, however, provided volunteers the opportunity to engage in a deeper level of reflection about issues specifically related to assumptions about taken-for-granted resources as well as a greater awareness about their levels of consumption.

In light of this example, a sense of confusion needs to be discussed in relation to the debate over responsibility in the sense that volunteers began to question their individual roles and their own sense of responsibility to 'make a difference.' One way to see how the process of confusion emerges in conjunction with a sense of responsibility is when it is examined against a post-development discourse. In McLennan's (2014) ethnographic study of the organization 'project Honduras,' she discovered that the emphasis on individual responsibility in terms of development practices (as opposed to traditional state organizations) was one way that reflected the pervasiveness of a neoliberal ideology in development. In other words, more historically traditional approaches to development emerged in this organization's approach in terms of their

scope of work. This example is highlighted because it can signal to the larger structure of IV, its diversification, and how its historic connection to a sense of responsibility toward traditional development could create confusion for volunteers no matter how well-intentioned they are.

In consideration of this, volunteers' sense of confusion might be linked to disappointing sentiments about how they imagined their role and realizing they may not be the 'savior.' Discussed earlier, some volunteers may engage in IV with what Krabill (2012) coined the "White Saviour Industrial Complex" (Martin and Pirbhai-Illich, 2015, p.38). For some participants in this thesis, their sense of confusion and doubt was connected by confronting their own imagined identity in terms of addressing their own 'savior complex.' On one level, they may realize that they cannot actually 'save' the impoverished child they saw in the TV ad, the image that has since been stored in their volunteer imaginary. On another level, they may realize that their perceived 'saving' may actually contribute to the problems facing the host community. As emphasized by Scheyvens (2010), some forms of voluntourism may be harmful in the sense they could create more problems for the host community in the long run. If sending organizations bring volunteers into host communities and create more problems than assistance, and the volunteer becomes aware of this, confusion will inevitably surface.

Said's (1993) emphasis on the West's tendency to romanticize the Orient may help to frame how romantic notions could be rooted in superior or neocolonial values. While motives of volunteers are significantly different from motives of the colonialists, the same patrician/colonial power structures can still linger (Sharp, 2009). If volunteers become aware of or begin to recognize these patrician structures, it may contribute to a sense of confusion as they begin to further question their role in IV in relation to these structures. It is key to note that the questioning of these larger issues is what can spur more confusion and further questions within

volunteers. When answers are not easily found, the confusion can become frustrating and create a disorienting dilemma. While confusion may be frustrating, this sense of frustration may also be healthy because it can lead to critical reflection and assist volunteers to consider ideas they had not previously entertained. Moreover, critical reflection can help them on the journey towards personal transformation of discouragement or of hope.

In consideration of how confusion can assist in the process of illuminating injustice or inequality, it is helpful to look at confusion in Mezirowian terms. In their study of conflict resolution, Fetherston and Kelly (2007) use Mezirow to help situate how learning through confusion assists in the possibility of emancipation. In other words, confusion and disorienting dilemmas about issues such as a sense of responsibility can instigate reflection which can in turn help volunteers achieve what Fetherston and Kelly (2007 p.268) call a “critical distance” from familiar or old frameworks of thinking. The concept of critical distance compliments Mezirow’s idea that through confusion inspired reflection, meaning can be made, helping learners to become “more conscious and less dependent on received notions and entrenched thinking habits” (Fetherston & Kelly, 2007 p.268). In this light, disorienting dilemmas, which can create confusion that challenges old thinking habits, are necessary in order for volunteers to be ushered along the journey towards transformation (Coghlan & Gooch, 2011).

The theme of confusion is important for the thesis question because volunteers who experience confusion may begin to question and challenge the structures on which IV hangs, whether those be structures related to inequality or structures related to the unique intersection of where IV is currently situated. In other words, if volunteers can connect the ways IV may be linked, for example, to former colonial mindsets or a neoliberal ideology and this becomes a source of confusion, it then demonstrates the important role confusion plays in revealing the

injustice of IV. This demonstration of confusion means that volunteers are engaging in some level of critical reflection and that a disorienting dilemma can give them a better understanding of paradoxes within IV. Additionally, this demonstration means that confusion is a necessary stepping-stone contributing to personal transformation. As Mezirow (1997) emphasized, an individual's perspective can be challenged so long as they are open to new perspectives. Openness to observing the paradoxes of IV allows the experience of confusion to expose volunteers to a new perspective.

In the following example, a participant expressed a range of emotions relating to confusion about a disorienting dilemma she experienced. This participant was moved by an experience she had in a Central American host community where she knew a child was being abused, but local law enforcement would not do anything about it. In her state of confusion and doubt, she grew frustrated and angry because she was accustomed to a Western approach to child abuse. Back in her home country, she expressed how the Department of Child Protection Services would have intervened to remove the child from the abusive home. Her confusion and frustration stemmed from a lack of understanding about the local cultural belief that defines children as the property of their parents. Upon realizing this, her sense of confusion was compounded by the fact that she was disempowered to "save" the child. This sense of disempowerment speaks directly to this volunteer's lack of social and cultural capital within this new field (with a different set of social rules). Not having the understanding of the local culture and the ability to convince anyone, much less the authorities, to save the child was devastating to her. For this participant, her experience was the beginning of her own journey towards transformation. To highlight this, she speaks directly to her awareness through confusion:

...my mentality was, I'm going to kidnap her...this girl! This is unjust and you think the only saving grace this girl had in her life would be that agency, but

really the child protection services was the only real authority to help her, and for whatever reason because of cultural and political reasons, nope, no can do. And it makes me kind of lose hope in the foundations and structures that are supposed to help you. I was like oh my god what if someone just kind of funded her and her mom. And they were like, what about all the other 1000s of children that this [abuse] is happening to. It's overwhelming. And this awareness kind of comes back and kicks you in the ass, because this awareness makes me want to go help people but this awareness makes me change my whole view on life. And realize that the problem is overwhelming and realize that the rest of the community thinks this [abuse] is okay and normal.

This example demonstrates how her own set of values and ideas of justice accompanied her abroad and once she realized that her values or opinions had no power in the host community, a state of confusion set in. This frustrating and confusing dilemma positioned this participant to become aware of the inequality or injustice in this scenario, which she said impacted her personal transformation, and ultimately left her discouraged.

Examples such as this revealed that many participants had (unsurprisingly) been strongly influenced by their Western upbringings, and had a specific value system in place for ascertaining what they believed to be right or wrong. These value systems were challenged whilst volunteering abroad, especially when specific experiences such as the incident above occurred. These challenges, however, were what enabled participants to consider and recognize their own privilege. Furthermore, when volunteers witnessed what they perceived to be an injustice, they had to come to terms with their own powerlessness to change the situation. Even if this participant thought a child was treated unfairly, it may not be her place to blow the whistle. This sense of disempowerment and inability to create change became a source of confusion that begot a sense of awareness of her own privilege. It is not unusual for many Western volunteers to come from wealthy or privileged backgrounds, and confusion can be a key element in revealing how a sense of entitlement may not be culturally transferable.

The Process of Awareness (self-awareness)

The analysis of the theme of awareness is framed uniquely in the sense that it combines the previous three themes and signals to some level of departure from confusion, even if questions or concerns still remain unanswered or inexplicable. For participants in this thesis, this departure from confusion to a more profound sense of awareness can illuminate ways personal transformation may be occurring. Similarly to the theme of open-mindedness, both external and internal levels of awareness need to be considered. Within the theme of awareness, external and internal refer to the ways in which IV can create awareness about societal or structural issues which could be occurring in the host community, nationally, or globally (external) as well as self-awareness about one's own personal growth (internal). Both types signpost towards transformation and indicate how the theme of awareness is a key step in IV.

When this sense of awareness is examined in relation to the debates about responsibility and the paradox of IV, it is connected to both in the sense that awareness points to a deeper understanding of how individual responsibility may be better understood in conjunctions with the recognition of how the ethical issues related to IV can be paradoxical. In addition, the theme of awareness resonates with how meaning is made because it is through awareness that reflexivity occurs. Reflexivity differs from reflection in that it is a process which requires a deeper sense of personal introspection (Doane, 2003). For this thesis, awareness refers to not only reflection, but also to reflexivity. It is a necessary and important part of the meaning-making process for the thesis question because it points towards transformation in understanding one's self and social position. In relation to the thesis question on the role of IV in fostering an awareness of global in/justice, Coghlan and Brannick (2005, p.7) suggest "reflective knowledge has to do with normative states in social, economic, and political realms. It concerns a vision of what ought to

be.” As such, a sense of awareness can be identified by the understanding of what is and what ought to be, implying a sense of understanding one’s contribution to systems of both injustice and justice.

Considering the role reflexivity plays in the process of awareness, the key difference between the theme of open-mindedness and awareness is the emphasis on the process of reflexivity, which can usher in an awareness that goes beyond acceptance or appreciation. Awareness points to a deeper recognition of systems or structures which may perpetuate inequality and what may contribute toward injustice (what is and what ought to be). As discussed previously, open-mindedness refers to ways that participants’ minds were ‘stretched’ in the sense that their knowledge and exposure to a new idea enabled them to consider a different perspective and arrive at a recognition and appreciation of that perspective. Awareness, however, requires volunteers to be reflexive about their part in simultaneously replicating and changing complex systems of inequity. This thesis argues that this cannot occur until having experienced some sense of confusion through a disorienting dilemma (Mezirow, 1997). The theme of open-mindedness can be said to emerge out of a sense of culture shock while awareness can be said to emerge through the careful practice of reflexivity having experienced a disorienting dilemma. In this way, a sense of awareness challenges the volunteer to think more critically about their confusion in relation to social structures such as the scale of global poverty, injustices, inequalities, privilege, and power.

Through the interview process, some participants acknowledged their increased awareness of inequality or injustice. In turn, some began to recognize and identify some of the social structures that contribute to these injustices or inequalities. This deeper sense of awareness emerged in the data differently than other themes. While some participants had a general

knowledge ahead of time about issues in the host community or a specific injustice, confronting them face-to-face provides a context that is markedly more personal. It is these kinds of examples that eventually became coded into the theme of awareness.

One part of the process of awareness for a volunteer is the recognition that they are likely not able to ‘fix an injustice’ or inequality which they became aware of. However, the recognition of the structures that perpetuate the injustice or inequality (and their role in those structures), is what symbolizes awareness. In regard to personal transformation, it is important to note that awareness does not always indicate the power to take meaningful social action, but rather the power to understand it (Mezirow, 2000). “The most personally significant transformations involve a critique of premises regarding the world and one’s self. A transformative learning experience requires that the learner make an informed and reflective decision to act or not” (Mezirow, 2000, p.22).

To highlight a rare example of how awareness can sometimes lead to a decision to act, in sample group one, a volunteer became aware that most students at the school in the host community had no lunch while she ate her neatly packed lunch each day. She became confused and upset when she realized the host community did not qualify for the lunch aid program sponsored by the Tanzanian government. With this new sense of confusion, she questioned the structures of why this particular community was not receiving government aid and then worked with the headmaster of the school to assemble financial support through her social and economic capital back home in the US. Although she may not have fully understand why the host community did not qualify for the government sponsored program, her understanding was that it was an injustice which inspired her to take action.

Upon returning home she commissioned a funding program at her school intended to garner support from her classmates in the form of raising funds for lunches for the children in the host community. While this sort of reaction may seem like a noble endeavor, there are many moving parts that need to be considered. In this case, her previous connection with the headmaster of the school enabled her to ensure lunch was being provided for the students (through the exchange of funds using technology such as a wire transfer). Her confusion about, and then awareness of, a perceived injustice led to action and ultimately to a beneficial outcome for the host community. This is a rare successful example that was not encumbered by confusion about a certain issue because the volunteer's confusion led to awareness of structure of inequality (about the lack of lunch) positioned her to think creatively to find a solution. It may be asserted that the personal transformation of this volunteer was hopeful after being able to make a palpable difference in the host community, which likely allowed her to recognize IV as an effective means to make a difference.

While this lunch aid program seemed successful, such a program would require continued funding and support from this volunteer's school in the West. This leaves uncertainty that the program still exists and raises some ethical questions. Hypothetically speaking, if the volunteer graduates or the funding ceases (for whatever reason), then does the lunch program cease to exist? At this point, if children in the host community had come to rely on the lunch program organized by this volunteer, it could at the very least lead to disappointment for the host community and could be considered a harmful form of aid. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this specific lunch program in depth, it is important to acknowledge that when volunteers come to a place of awareness and they are inspired to take action (in a Mezirowian sense), that the ethical issues are fully considered. For instance, volunteers who may identify

with an individual sense of responsibility need to consider the ramifications of implementing an initiative such as the lunch program. Even if volunteers are discouraged by the paradoxes of IV, their deeper sense of awareness of the ways in which it could potentially be harmful to a host community can lead to a deeper level of awareness and eventually toward their own personal transformation in understanding global in/justice.

In another example, which occurred in Ghana, we traveled to two former ‘slave castles.’ During the tours of the castles, the guide provided detailed accounts of horrific events that had occurred in the rooms in which we stood during the height of the European slave trade. The tour guide was sometimes graphic in his accounts of these events, which at times caused some of the volunteers to leave the room because it was difficult to hear explicit ways in which slaves were treated. This example is highlighted within the context of awareness because touring the castles, seeing the rooms, and learning about the ways inequality and injustice actually occurred in that space, provided an opportunity to discuss the implications of issues like slavery and colonialism in a new light with the volunteers. Although the volunteers were aware of slavery before touring the castles, being in the rooms on a guided tour provided a markedly different context to discuss injustice, which later allowed for a depth of meaningful conversation, and ultimately a greater sense of awareness of the history and social structures during that historical time. Coghlan and Gooch (2011) reiterate Mezirow’s fourth step in his TLT, which emphasizes sharing the experience with others and how IV can provide a space for this. As such, these discussions were sometimes impromptu, but most times led by a volunteer coordinator in a ‘campfire setting’ strategically designed to inspire a sense of critical reflection.

For the participants in this thesis, a deeper level of understanding goes beyond a simple realization. It follows Mezirow’s (2000) concept of subjective reframing; through a physical and

emotional experience, participants were able to gain an understanding of an historic event, which enabled them to reframe how they understood an injustice like slavery. Thinking critically (in a Mezirowian sense) on the path towards subjective reframing while also becoming aware of the deeply rooted power and structural issues (in Bourdieusian sense) may contribute to a greater sense of awareness. For example, as volunteers practice and engage in reflection and reflexivity, they may become more aware of the how neocolonial undertones in IV or more aware of the influence of globalized capitalism. As such, becoming aware of the injustices related to these influences may contribute to an awareness about one's own power and privilege that can move volunteers beyond a sense of open-mindedness to awareness.

Transformation

In light of the discussion of the themes, which serve as phases or processes in the journey towards transformation, this section specifically addresses how the culmination of the themes can assist in positioning the volunteer towards transformation. Chapter three introduced transformation through Mezirow, who conceptualized a transformative learning theory (TLT) highlighting the notion that change can only occur through a sequence of processes initiated by an experience that is thought provoking. As seen in this thesis, IV is a thought provoking and, at times, disorienting experience for many. Mezirow emphasizes the importance of reflection and self-examination following this period of disorientation:

These feelings prompt critical assessment of one's assumptions (e.g., the way they think of others, the world, or even themselves). These internal processes lead to actions related to roles, skill and competence building, and finally reintegration into life based on a new perspective. As such, TLT is based on the notion that we interpret our experiences in our own way, and that how we see the world is a result of our perceptions of our experiences thus having the potential to generate a deep shift in perspective. (Taylor & Cranton, 2012, p.5)

Furthermore, Kegan (2009) suggests that this notion of change and transformative learning focuses on epistemology (one's way of knowing) and that change is methodological in nature (how one knows) rather than just substantive (what one knows). With this in mind, transformation can be framed in the sense that a volunteer's epistemological understanding is what needs to be challenged in order to usher them towards personal transformation.

According to Mezirow (2000), critical reflection and transformation can happen all at once, which is referred to as epochal transformation, or gradually over time, which is referred to as incremental transformation. This means that some volunteers may be able to experience a personal transformation while they are in the act of volunteering and others may require additional time for reflection. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, a deep shift in perspective can occur differently or not at all for each individual. This further emphasizes the critical role that reflection plays in shaping how volunteers come to make meaning. With this in mind, Mezirow's (2000) emphasis on critical reflection points to the ways in which volunteers become aware of their habitus, which can contribute toward meaning-making and personal transformation in relation to understanding their contribution to global in/justice.

Based on current IV literature, Coghlan and Gooch (2011, p.714) suggest that IV experiences can potentially create a space for "the conditions necessary for emancipatory social transformation and engagement." Following Taylor (2007) and Brookfield (2000), transformational learning is dependent on providing a space to engage in reflection, and IV can provide this space in the way it is a removal from a volunteer's daily routine. As such, Coghlan and Gooch (2011) corroborate the steps Mezirow identifies in his TLT, but provide suggestions where they have identified potential gaps, which, if not addressed, could subsequently impact the potential for personal transformation. For example, they suggest that steps seven and nine in

Mezirow's TLT may be missing in many voluntourism programs. These 2 steps emphasize the need for volunteers to develop a plan of action going forward (step seven) as well as promote the provisions made in an effort to gain feedback (step nine). If these steps are better incorporated to IV programs alongside a social justice pedagogy, personal transformation may be more realistic for volunteers who are seeking transformation through IV. With this in mind, how each of the four emergent themes in this thesis may contribute towards transformation is discussed next.

The finding of open-mindedness is relevant to the process of transformation because it is the initial phase that begins to reveal the layers of both the self and of IV in relation to habitus and cultural differences. On one hand, it does this by emphasizing the significance of what volunteers are initially experiencing with their physical senses. Pulling these layers back requires some level of reflection into one's disposition. On the other hand, a sense of open-mindedness may not address the deeper issues related to one's awareness of their own power, privilege, or capital. While open-mindedness is a step in the right direction towards transformation, unless followed by critical reflection, it may not always position the volunteer to experience confusion.

The finding of confusion is critical to the process of transformation because it occurs after volunteers see, experience, and begin to question new perspectives. These new perspectives may be difficult for the volunteer to process, but can assist in bringing about confusion and a call to reconsider assumptions formerly taken for granted. Taking this into account, Mezirow (1991) suggests that it is past experiences (or lack thereof) that can drive stagnant outlooks and can potentially lead to incorrect assumptions about the world. These assumptions can persist until they are challenged by a potentially disorienting experience such as IV. The volunteer can then choose to either reject the new information or use it to form a changed perspective, according to Mezirow, indicating that not every volunteer may be transformed nor arrive at transformation via

the same avenue. Mezirow (1990) also suggests that transformation occurs as a result of catalyzing experiences that change perspectives on an individual's community or culture. For volunteers, this means that if a new perspective is part of what they desire, a catalyzing experience is necessary. The ability to come out of a catalyzing experience with a new awareness about why that experience was catalyzing means that early signs of change are beginning to occur. It is this kind of change that directly addresses the volunteer's awareness of their shifting habits of mind in conjunction with the meaning they made.

In light of this shift, the finding of awareness is critical to the process of transformation in that it can reveal the habitus and illuminate privilege. Mezirow (1990) emphasizes that transformation of awareness is "the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our presuppositions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable and integrative perspective" (Mezirow, 1990, p.14). In other words, transformation of awareness is, in part, becoming aware of the ways in which one is privileged and the structures in place that enabled one to become privileged. During the analysis of the field notes, memos and transcripts, it became increasingly clear that awareness of one's place of privilege surfaced for several participants as they came to recognize the structures of power and privilege that provided them the opportunities to experience transformation. The ability to return home after IV with new awareness afforded as a result of privilege means that the ability to experience personal transformation itself is also rooted in a place of privilege.

To summarize Mezirow's work on transformation, the ability for an adult learner to stand back from an experience and consider his or her own worldview from a new position allows the learner to deconstruct the meaning-making he or she has made from past experiences and engage

in new meaning-making. This ability requires a process of critical reflection and this thesis demonstrates that IV can be a tool to initiate or assist in this process. Once individuals begin the process of critical reflection related to their experiences, they may begin to critically question practices, structures, and cultures, including their own.

Considering the ability to see one's worldview from an entirely different angle, personal transformation can be said to be about a deeper sense of awareness as a result of reframing one's assumptions about the world. One way this might be accomplished could be by reframing IV programs with a more service-focused and social justice approach as opposed to one situated within tourism. Casting IV in this light (with a focus on service and social justice) could better dignify the host community in that their needs and desires are addressed first. A focus on IV within the light of tourism may prompt participants to approach IV from a "what's in it for me" perspective. Given the ways that ecotourism has evolved to become highly commodified within the tourism industry (Butcher, 2005) signals that if IV continues to find its groundings within the tourism industry, it may also be headed down this same path as ecotourism. Reiterating McGloin and Georgeou's (2015) suggestion of using two paradigms to view IV (voluntourism operating within the market, and development volunteering operating within civil society), a refocus on an ethos for IV that is community-oriented, social justice focused, or service-based is needed in the spirit of reframing assumptions, bearing in mind the critiques of service-learning.

Re-examining how IV is approached as a whole, the daily nuances that accompany it, and subsequently how it is understood, becomes an integral part of the thesis argument. This is important because application of this knowledge could shift the consumptive ideology of IV that is associated within a tourism-based approach to an ideology more focused on social justice. In other words, if sending organizations as well as volunteers approach IV from a 'decommodified

framework,' it has the potential to become more focused on social justice. The emphasis on service could reflect a more humanizing approach and less of a consuming approach to IV. The word 'humanizing' is used to portray the way that a pedagogical emphasis on service within the context of IV could be more focused on individual needs (both host and volunteer) versus the needs of organizations or companies to profit, even if the profit is 'going towards a good cause.' In other words, this kind of reframing approach to IV means a deeper reflection on the recognition of motives, a greater awareness of the habitus, and an acknowledgement of the tension between one's contribution to both systems of justice and injustice.

As volunteers reach a different level of awareness about their own power, privilege, and the role they may play in contributing to systems of both justice and injustice, they may reconsider how they have come to frame IV. This means a greater self-awareness about their habitus in addition to awareness about social structures. For this thesis, then, personal transformation relies on the first three emergent themes as stepping-stones followed by awareness to usher the volunteer towards transformation. To come full circle, notions related to change are what many participants desired from the beginning: a desire to see positive change in the host community and a desire to see positive change in their own lives. This is key to enacting effective change because it signals that IV is inherently situated within the framework of personal change as opposed to structural change. While volunteers may altruistically hope to see a level of social or structural change occur in the host community, most participants in this thesis recognized that their desire to make a difference in this way was not likely to result in action that would lead to structural change. Many acknowledged, however, that through awareness they were the real beneficiaries of IV, which allowed them to better understand their own identity.

Theoretical Synthesis

In consideration of the varied ways volunteers may arrive at transformation, a synthesis of Mezirow and Bourdieu helps to unpack the ways in which societal structures influence the individual's personal transformation. As Finnegan states, "part of the value of reading these authors with and against each other is that the conceptual and disciplinary boundaries they work within become much clearer" (Finnegan, 2011, p.86). For instance, while Bourdieu's emphasis on understanding how people navigate and trace social power is important to the arguments against IV, Mezirow's emphasis on how people navigate transformational learning is important to the arguments in support of IV, further highlighting the tension between social justice and transformation. Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic capital, in a more sociological sense, means that the structures set in place illuminate the privilege of those who get to 'do IV' and the ways in which they can leverage their experience as a form of accumulated cultural capital. Mezirow's conceptualization of meaning-making, which is more psychologically based, places the volunteer as the central feature because he or she is the one who is learning, making meaning, and breaking assumptions.

This is where Bourdieu's habitus and Mezirow's habits of mind conflate. Both concepts address the embodied assumptions volunteers bring with them and recognize that past experiences structure present experiences. Since many aspects of IV were personally challenging for participants, it is key to note how these challenges assisted to illuminate volunteers' embodied knowledge, as Finnegan (2011, p.86-87) highlights:

Thinking with Bourdieu reminds us how deeply we are regulated and marked by social structures, how boundaries are internalized, and how developmental needs can be understood, in part, as contingent and based on our relational positions in social space. Ultimately, Bourdieu[sian] sociology is based on consciously breaking with people's everyday sense of how the world functions. For Bourdieu clarity is most likely to come through reflexive, social scientific work within the

academy. Mezirow, on the other hand, views transformative learning as emerging through rational exploration of personal meaning which can emerge through critical dialogue in many settings including social movements.

In an international volunteer sense, internalized boundaries and regulated social structures can impede or enhance the volunteer's individual ability to experience transformation. For example, the sense of strong individualism, more noticeable in the West (Triandas, 1995), may surface for Western volunteers whose disorienting dilemma is related to their difficulty to accept how the host community could be a collective society. Inglehart (2005) emphasizes the importance of group binding or group obligations in collective societies, which could feel intuitively backwards for a Western volunteer accustomed to an individualistic society. In this example, the understanding and appreciation of collectivism could assist the volunteer in becoming more aware of the ways in which he or she has been socialized or Westernized. Becoming aware of these boundaries and regulated social structures can lead to transformation because, in a Bourdieusian sense, it is founded on challenging the everyday consciousness of how the world functions (Finnegan, 2011).

For Bourdieu, who was primarily interested in social reproduction in relation to power relationships and symbolic relationships, personal transformation implies a deeper understanding of one's habitus. In spite of Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which for some may appear to only be the socialization of an individual's predisposition, "Bourdieu does not deny individual agency and the possibility of change, but he never separates the individual from his or her own make-up and from his or her personal and collective history" (Albright & Allan, 2010, p.44). In this light, the habitus of volunteers needs to be framed in two ways: by first recognizing the process of socialization from a societal perspective and then recognizing the role the individual plays in contributing to the reshaping of their habitus based on their actions in society (Swartz, 2002).

Similarly to Mezirow, personal transformation for Bourdieu occurs by way of critical reflection about the forces that influence the habitus, both internal and external.

Framed in this Bourdieusian light and within a theoretical context, the process of meaning-making in this thesis is about dissecting and challenging the habitus in the spirit of personal transformation. For those volunteers who arrive at a deeper sense of awareness via confusion or a disorienting dilemma, they may begin the process of unraveling their durable dispositions, which, in turn, may position them to recognize the influential components that shaped their habitus. To this end, personal transformation can result in a subjective reframing as volunteers deconstruct previously held notions about the developing world as well as themselves. This means that in order for volunteers to experience meaningful or sustainable transformation, not only must they experience each phase as demonstrated in the findings, but also a dismantling of obstacles that may have prevented them from understanding their own habitus. As emphasized by both Bourdieu and Mezirow, critical reflection is the key to this process. For instance, the moments volunteers may experience the most awareness of their firmly held dispositions are during the times of critical reflection through the personal examination of what Ellis (2015, p.8) calls a critical realist framing:

Inviting us to a reflexive methodology, Bourdieu (1998) insists that a sociology that does not enable people to see the significance of their social practices is worth nothing, but, locked in a disciplined habitus, it can take a long time to insert oneself into the narrative of social injustice and inequality.

Reflecting on the ways that IV may contribute to challenging a disciplined habitus means that volunteers can experience transformation if their embodied knowledge and assumptions are brought to light. Although not every participant in this thesis may have experienced this level of transformation, it is this deeper level of awareness that this thesis acknowledges as the work of transformative learning.

In Kiely's (2005) longitudinal case study of transformational learning in service-learning, he emphasizes how some service-learning programs can be truly transformative for some participants, but asks why it does not occur more often. Kiely (2005, p.7) posits that the "ideal end result of transformational learning is that one is empowered by learning to be more socially responsible, self-directed, and less dependent on false assumptions." This notion of becoming less dependent on false assumptions not only complements the notion of challenging the habitus but also, within the context of service-learning, complements the notion of a more service-based approach to IV. If a volunteer becomes more aware of their habitus through a more service-based approach to IV, then it may mean that IV programs need to not only emphasize the importance of reflection, but the importance of the element of service. That said, Mezirow's theoretical framework illuminates the value of service-learning because it signals that the element of service may engage volunteers in a more meaningful way:

Mezirow's empirically-based conceptual framework also has explanatory value unique to service-learning contexts because it describes how different modes of reflection combined with meaningful dialogue lead people to engage in more justifiable and socially-responsible action (Kiely, 2005, p.6).

Finnegan (2011) stresses that in order for the work of transformative learning to occur, the sociological imagination must be cultivated and the question of meaning-making must come from a combination of both scholars, Mezirow and Bourdieu, which can bring out the limits and possibilities of transformative learning.

The Doubled – Edged Sword of IV

In terms of meaning-making, part of the paradox of IV from a volunteer perspective was coming to terms with their expectations of being able to 'make a difference' in the way they originally imagined. In other words, volunteers, many of whom came from privilege, enter the field of IV with a view of being able to have a positive effect on the host community. After some

time with the host community and further reflection, volunteers may come to realize a host of problems related to the flaws of IV. For some, part of this was in recognizing a lack of congruity between what may have been promised to them by the sending organization and the reality of their experience.

Discussed previously, some of the concerns with sending organizations are related to the ways they may exploit the poverty of the host community to create an incubator for Western volunteers to experience transformation. This kind of ‘business model’ that allows Western volunteers to travel halfway across the world to ‘connect with poverty’ so that they can have a specialized cultural experience reflects the ethical concerns raised in the literature. By that same token, this exploitation of poverty is partially what positions volunteers to consider deeper issues such as their habitus and capital, implying that without this exposure to poverty, volunteers may not fully come to recognize the forces that perpetuate it, inequality, injustice or how they may be contributing. In other words, if personal transformation or awareness of such structures which perpetuate injustice or inequality is reliant on the volunteers’ disorienting dilemmas about said structures, the delicate balance between ‘exposure to’ and ‘exploitation of’ aspects of host communities needs to be considered. This delicate balance further implicates the tension between how to foster an awareness of global in/justice and personal transformation.

This paradoxical tension of IV as flawed or even ironically chaotic, at times, allows volunteers to experience disorienting dilemmas. Subsequently, this allows the volunteers to consider different frames of mind. The flaws of IV then, while they may be frustrating or confusing for volunteers, could be strategically designed to create disorienting dilemmas for volunteers in the spirit of growth and transformation without compromising the needs of the host community. This idea of a creating a dilemma for learners is part of the heuristic process that

Taylor and Jarecke (2011) discuss when they refer to being pushed to the ‘edge of learning.’

Through an experience that can create a sense of confusion, the pedagogical potential for IV to become more heuristic is clarified.

Ironically this sense of purposefulness structure on one level seems counterintuitive to transformative learning due to its strong emphasis on a learner-centered orientation, where there is an assumption that transformative learning is not planned or orchestrated, but is left to the direction and will of the learner. (Taylor and Jarecke, 2011, p.313)

Reflecting upon Mezirow and Bourdieu, on a personal level, becoming aware of one’s habitus (or habits of mind) in the many nuanced ways it has given way to durable dispositions, disrupts deeply entrenched notions of power and privilege. In this way, personal transformation is possible because it gives way to a new schema of viewing the world, especially the way the developing world may be viewed. This means that authentic transformation occurs in the quiet place of deep reflection, in which awareness about one’s dispositions can emerge and become illuminated. As such, IV programs need to foster moments designed for confusion, but accompanied by the space for critical reflection, which provides volunteers the opportunity to return home with a greater sense of awareness and a desire to engage further in reflexivity. While some IV programs (especially those within the context of higher education) may have designed an emphasis on reflexivity during IV, all programs could benefit by highlighting the importance of bringing the habitus to the forefront as a key learning outcome.

On a macro level, reflection and reflexivity may allow Western volunteers to consider deeply embedded capitalist or neoliberalist practices that have contributed to IV, which can later shed light on social inequalities. With this in mind, the pitfalls of IV could be valuable in that they inspire reflection on the volunteer’s dispositions in relation to how he or she may have originally approached IV, whether from a service-based or tourism-based approach. For Western

volunteers, embodied assumptions about concepts related to capitalism or individualism could be inherently taken for granted as assumptions about the world given their upbringing. These assumptions can play out in the day-to-day experience of IV participants because they are part of the individual's habitus. While the awareness of social or political structures, such as capitalism, is relevant and critical for shifting one's position and perceiving social inequalities on a larger scale, the self-awareness component is equally relevant and critical because if the volunteer does not address their own dispositions in relation to the issues at hand, they could experience a disorienting dilemma, but not experience transformation.

Considering further the kind of transformation that is desired (to be more socially responsible and less reliant on false assumptions) and in order to generate critical reflection and increased awareness, Finnegan's synthesis of Mezirow and Bourdieu demonstrates epistemological and ontological assumptions about what is the 'right kind' of transformation and how it should be more strategically designed. Reiterating Coghlan and Brannick's (2005) sentiments about critical reflection, the synthesis of Bourdieu and Mezirow illuminates the concerns of what transformation ought to be. Personal transformation means that volunteers should be thinking critically about the debate over responsibility because of the way it calls attention to the historical influences of IV, which have brought about structural concerns. This also means that volunteers should be thinking critically about the paradoxical practices of IV as they contribute to creating a sense of confusion. Personal transformation means that volunteers should also be thinking critically about how they are making meaning because it prompts them to practice a more reflexive sociology, which can help them situate where their desires to 'make a difference' are grounded.

What does all of this point toward? An increased awareness of sociopolitical structures which have enabled volunteers to participate in IV and increased awareness of a volunteer's own identity, habitus, and privilege call to attention IV as a double-edged sword. That is to assert that IV can be used as both a tool to create personal transformation, but also a tool to perpetuate injustice. If Western volunteers experience transformation because of their awareness of injustice or social inequalities, then herein lie the concerns about the unique intersection of IV, further highlighting the tension between both social justice and transformation and between service and tourism. The awareness of this tension is what connects Mezirow's theoretical framework to Bourdieu's - the challenge to habitus. This questions if the purpose of IV is to reveal the habitus of the individual in the hopes they have a shift in their durable dispositions. Inasmuch as IV may illuminate social and structural inequalities that Bourdieu addresses on a societal level, the challenge remains as to how IV can be a source of potential personal transformation that Mezirow addresses on an individual level. If personal transformation and a deeper awareness about global in/justice is co-dependent upon the potential 'injustice of IV,' it illuminates the need to restructure and implement IV differently.

In light of this tension which demonstrates the pros and cons of IV, this thesis thereby argues the need for current IV programs to emphasize a service-based approach to IV bearing in mind the critiques of service-learning. For voluntourism programs specifically, this may mean designing programs with an intentional and strategic focus on the service components illuminating the need to structure time for discussion and reflection. In the following chapter, suggestions for future research are discussed.

Conclusion

The core of this thesis is twofold. It is the recognition of the propensity of IV to be an unjust method to achieve transformational awareness about global justice issues. It is precisely the leveraging of this recognition that is a tool for deeper self-reflection related to self-awareness about one's place of privilege and power in the world. In other words, personal transformation is key because this is where perceptual change can occur within the volunteer, but at the same time, IV has the tendency to eschew the very thing it may claim to pursue – justice. Without necessarily being corrupt, the pitfalls of IV invite reflection and self-awareness. Implemented without consideration of these pitfalls, IV can potentially create more harm than intended. In light of IV as a double-edged sword, the analyzed findings reveal that for many volunteers, IV is a personal experience centered around their transformation (opposed to the host communities') and that awareness of global in/justice can be achieved, but that a price may be paid by the host community. The double-edged sword signals that IV can be an unjust practice and an effective avenue for personal transformation through the subjective recognition of its shortcomings.

In this thesis, participants arrived at different levels of awareness about global in/justices based on how they experienced the four emergent themes, symbolizing the personal ways transformation was experienced. For many, it was through a confusion that they learned about injustice, their personal identity, how their upbringing influences their values, the role their own privilege plays in global society, and, for some, the kind of person they want to be. Given this wide range of outcomes, it is necessary for profound transformation that volunteers experience all four phases. It is through these phases (and ultimately out of a place of confusion) that meaning can be critically constructed after reflection and volunteers can arrive at a greater sense of awareness about themselves in relation to their role in IV.

While IV can be a point of controversy or debate, the phases discussed in this chapter demonstrate that IV can lead to processes of meaning-making for volunteers and point to the journey toward transformation. Whether volunteers experience a personal transformation of hope or discouragement, many expressed a sense of open-mindedness and an increased awareness of injustice and inequality. Furthermore, through each emergent theme, many volunteers became more aware of themselves and what role their privilege can play in IV experiences. Analyzing the four emerging themes in the data (desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness) by way of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and Mezirow's theory of transformative learning connects the thesis analysis to the thesis question.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Overview

This thesis explored how international volunteering can contribute to the process of personal transformation of volunteers through the examination of how they made meaning of their experiences in terms of their awareness of global in/justice. The over-arching argument made is that IV is a personalized experience, which can contribute in varying ways towards personal transformation. As such, it can be an experience that fosters awareness about global in/justice. This thesis engages with and contributes to debates not only on how challenging experiences impact one's sense of self or personal identity, but also on the capacity of IV to illuminate the ways volunteers may contribute to systems of both injustice and justice. In this sense, IV, as it is related to the personal and the global, becomes an increasingly complex mechanism as it may complicate the sociopolitical and geo-cultural landscapes.

In terms of identity debates, the thesis showed ways in which volunteers' identities may be influenced through a disorienting dilemma during IV. In terms of IV's contribution to the awareness of global in/justice, the thesis demonstrated ways in which these transformative experiences may be seen to influence personal understanding and agency in relation to the inequities that underpin the existence of IV. The thesis also identified several key concepts about IV demonstrating that in spite of good motives, it is complex and paradoxical in that it raises ethical concerns further emphasizing the need for IV programs to be aligned with a social justice pedagogy. This corroborates many of the concerns about IV in the critical literature examined. Further, with the number of international volunteers on the rise, this thesis signals to a sense of urgency and relevancy to the subject matter (Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The purpose of this chapter is to briefly summarize the literature reviewed, the methods used, reiterate the key

aspects the thesis explored, reflect on the research, discuss the contributions to the field of sociology, and to make suggestions for future research.

Summary of the Relevant Debates

The literature introduced IV by identifying its contextual framework illustrating how it evolved from a wider perspective on development through its diversification to become uniquely situated at the confluence of service and tourism with ties to development. Through this identification, the commodification of voluntourism is revealed, reflecting how many IV programs have shifted, so that participation in IV becomes a choice related to lifestyle (Butcher, 2011). This unique situatedness helps to contextualize the debates about IV, which are discussed through a sense of individual and moral responsibility and through the illumination of the paradox of IV. Both debates conflate because part of the debates about responsibility are what contributes to the paradox of IV, and what is partially paradoxical about IV are the debates about responsibility. In this light, these two debates are summarized here concurrently.

The reason the debate on responsibility, in short, is such an integral component of this thesis is because of the way responsibility is implicated by the West's assertion of power historically and today, and how this may be transposed to an individual level, culturally and politically emphasizing Gidden's (1991) concept of life politics. This can be illustrated through the individualized ways that some Western volunteers may come to identify with a 'savior complex.'

The reason the paradox of IV, in short, is such an integral component of this thesis is because of the way IV has raised several concerns, the largest being related to the ethics of using an impoverished host community in a developing nation for the personal growth of Westerners. Additionally, the notion of combining tourism and volunteer work in some ways seems

paradoxical, especially if this combination is not carefully or justly implemented. The messages IV may send to host communities, then, could further reinforce dominant power structures where privileged volunteers get to ‘do IV.’

The potential for IV to exploit poverty for ‘Western benefit’ paradoxically echoes the influence of colonialism and was discussed to highlight the ways IV has the potential to be a neocolonial practice. Even if IV aims to mobilize volunteers to be agents of global social change or to become ‘global citizens,’ the paradoxical price of this desire should be considered as it could further perpetuate a Western power structure mentality. This is especially relevant for volunteers who travel to previous colonized nations, as they need to be aware of both historic and current events that have emphasized Western dominance.

If this kind of mentality is perpetuated, then how a sense of individual responsibility is perceived by volunteers can influence how they interact with the host community, and subsequently, the meaning they make in terms of how they perceive themselves in relation to the issues facing the host community. This means that a growing cultural dissonance may also be perpetuated, which also reflects a shifting ethnoscape, according to Appadurai (2002), about the larger issue and influence of globalization on a cultural and economic level. Since globalization has increased international exposure through the media and allowed opportunities for cross-cultural experiences through increased international travel, for example, how volunteers navigate this space brings relevance to the study of IV.

In addition to colonialism and the process of globalization, this thesis also recognizes and discusses the rise of a neoliberal ideology and its influence on IV, further highlighting how the debates about responsibility and the paradox of IV are influentially shaped. As emphasized by Vrasti (2013) who examines IV through an industrial relations theory (Wearing & McGehee,

2013), the influence of neoliberalism needs to be considered in order to understand how IV is connected to it. “If there is any doubt about its hegemony, we must only look at the forcefulness with which the neoliberal ideal arranges subjects and social relations into hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion (Vrasti, 2013, p.132). In other words, the role a neoliberal ideology has played to encourage participation in ‘making a difference’ on a global scale could point to some reasons why volunteers are engaging in IV in an effort to position themselves well in their own hierarchy.

Since ‘making a difference’ is a desired goal for many volunteers and may also be marketed by organizations, within the context of the debate over responsibility, the literature also introduced the notion of a ‘savior complex.’ This idea of Westerners as ‘needed saviors’ to the rest of the world can be a dangerous mentality, as emphasized by Butler (2011, p.75), who reiterates the arrogance of the “impulse to act upon the world.” By that same token, however, understanding this impulse may help situate why some volunteers identify with a savior complex, or use evangelism, for example, as a tool to engage with the foreign Other.

In light of the different debates and perspectives about IV and how it has emerged, this thesis contributes to the relevant debates in the way it further illuminates the tension between service and tourism as well as the tension between transformation and social justice. Within these relevant debates, this thesis distinguishes IV as an all-encompassing term, which includes various forms such as ecotourism, voluntourism, mission trips, or longer-term placements through an organization like the Peace Corps. The primary function of all forms, however, is the service component, which, this thesis argues, seems to only play a peripheral role in some of the modern IV programs, which likely reflects the influence of neoliberalism. By reclaiming the

‘element of service,’ what this potentially means, and how it can be undertaken with a social justice pedagogy, is where this thesis situates itself.

Summary of Methods

The methodology adopted a grounded theory qualitative approach. The adoption of a GT approach to data collection and analysis was driven by the need to document volunteers’ experiences of a wide variety of feelings, thoughts, and emotions during, immediately following, and years after engaging in IV. In doing so, grounded theory allows for this kind of exploration versus gazing from a distance. Because the research question adopts an interpretive-constructionist approach, the use of a GT strategy is appropriate because it allows for multiple and varying constructions of realities and meaning-making with attention to the voice of the participants. As this was a key aim of this thesis, other strategies were not considered to be the best fit. Moreover, a GT approach supports the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis to occur, thereby making it the most suitable methodological strategy for this thesis. Three groups of volunteers were invited to participate: those currently engaged in IV (sample group one), those recently returned (sample group two), and those who had previously been involved in IV (sample group three). A total of 11 participants were chosen from sample group one and a total of 11 participants from sample group three were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. A total of 75 participants completed an open-ended survey for sample group two.

Twenty-two interviews and 75 survey responses cannot accurately represent the full scope of volunteer experiences abroad or point to conclusive facts about IV, nor was that the intended aim of the thesis. These interviews and survey responses can, however, illuminate the ways the participants made meaning about their experiences, which in turn, can illuminate how

their personal transformation may or may not have fostered a greater awareness about global social in/justice. Through the interviews and survey responses, a strong narrative of personalized experiences emerged which provided rich and targeted information. The importance of these narratives sheds light on aspects of lived experiences, which, according to Bryman (2004), can assist in the meaning-making process of qualitative research.

Reflecting on the methods implemented, I recognize my privilege in being able to spend three months in Tanzania with sample group one. Accessing this group provided not only the ability to obtain an insider status in terms of the research, but also the ability to observe volunteers in the act of volunteering and take reflective field notes and utilize memo-writing. During the interviews, this insider status influenced my ability to ask deeper questions without coming across as intrusive.

The best way to gain access to those recently returned from IV in sample group two was through a survey. While most of these questions were open-ended, which contributed to the development of a strong narrative, no follow-up questions were feasible. Having experienced this specific GSL program at this university, both as an undergraduate volunteer and as a graduate student/volunteer coordinator, influenced my understanding of the aims of the program and the ability to identify transformational moments in the way I was trained to identify them. For example, participants in sample group two expanded on their survey responses, which illustrated this unique sample group's experience in IV as it was related to their personal faith development. As such, at times, it was difficult to interpret what is commonly referred to as 'Christianese' in many Protestant circles, which is a colloquial name to identify a specific language that is used by many evangelicals. In that sense, however, it shed light on the ways that this group made meaning, and how they experienced personal transformation, which was more spiritual in nature.

Per McGehee's (2014) suggestion, future research should focus specifically on how religious-based groups process IV experiences.

Sample group three provided a depth of understanding about their unique experiences engaged in varied forms of IV. Their time away from their experience provided an opportunity for a deeper sense of reflection, which in turn, emphasized their increased awareness of their contribution to systems of both justice and injustice.

Summary of Findings

In line with abbreviated grounded theory strategies (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997), the analysis of the data continued throughout the data collection process and beyond the coding process, which generated four main themes. The themes are framed as processes that may lead to personal transformation: desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness. In spite of the wide diversity of thoughts, emotions, and stories expressed by the participants, these four processes emerged across all three sample groups.

The first theme, desire, came from the questions during the interviews and survey, which asked participants why they had chosen to engage in IV. Among the many anecdotal reasons and responses participants provided for going abroad to volunteer, their sense of desire was underscored by three primary motivations: a desire to help others perceived as less fortunate, to experience a new or foreign culture, and to experience a change in their lives. Desire also surfaced at times in the expression of subtle guilt about acquired material wealth, for example, as was demonstrated in the findings. Knowing where a sense of guilt is situated may help shed light on how some volunteers sought IV as a means of feeling better about their privilege, and points to where a sense of responsibility may be found. A sense of desire can also point to the unique

intersection of IV demonstrating how the volunteer imaginary is at work in the exploration of the foreign Other (Martin & Pirbhai-Ellich, 2015).

The second theme of open-mindedness emerged for volunteers as they came to recognize and appreciate different customs or ways of approaching everyday life as they lived alongside the host community. As Morgan (2010) emphasizes, no matter the purpose, travel in and of itself has implicit educative benefits which broaden the mind.

The theme of confusion emerged for many participants as they processed complex ideas or experienced something that did not make sense to them. In line with Mezirow's (1991) concept of the disorienting dilemma, for many participants, specific triggers or moments became points of confusion as they became aware of what they perceived to be social injustice either in the host nation or host community. For many participants, a sense of confusion challenged their frame of reference and called several to consider their values. For some participants, the process of personal transformation in these confusing moments led them to return home frustrated and discouraged. These moments, in a Mezirowian sense, need to occur and, to a degree, should be fostered by the volunteer coordinator in an effort to create space for more critical reflection. In light of this, as these moments arise, it is the next theme of awareness that can prompt the process of transformation. Although confusion emerged, which can be a frustrating challenge, it was helpful in the sense that it led to reflection, which is how a greater sense of awareness can emerge.

The final theme of awareness emerged in the data after participants experienced confusion and after they engaged in a deeper sense of reflection about why the issue was confusing. In this way, confusion helped usher them into a place where they could consider or question larger social or structural issues, specifically those issues that reflect inequality or

injustice. Once engaged with this line of critical thinking and reflecting, awareness about how and why there is an injustice and in what ways they may contribute, marks this final theme of awareness. This means that reflection and engaging in the process of reflexivity is crucial because it is the part that distinguishes between open-mindedness and awareness. In addition, reflection is crucial because it can illuminate to the participant how their transformation is experienced and whether or not they identify IV as a discouraging experience or hopeful one.

The theme of awareness also can illustrate the nuanced ways volunteers have reflected on their own identity, power, or privilege, which may not have been previously recognized or considered. For example, the importance of ‘campfire discussions’ proved to be a productive way to engage participants in sample group one to encourage them to be reflective. As emphasized by Strait and Sauer (2004), experientially based learning, such as volunteering, can assist participants to consider deeper levels of inquiry by asking questions, making connections, and acknowledging the value of other diverse perspectives. Considering the potential of experiential learning and for IV to inspire these aspects, as a volunteer coordinator, this time was valuable because it provided an opportunity for me to address questions and topics of importance. These ‘campfire discussions’ also encouraged the entire group to practice reflection in the spirit of collaborative learning.

Discussion, Relevancy, and Contributions of IV

Using theorists such as Bourdieu and Mezirow to frame the analysis of the findings was particularly helpful as both theorists’ theoretical framework provided a distinct approach to understanding the tensions of the double-edged sword of IV. Through elements of Bourdieu’s theories that address systematic and societal structures, a better understanding of how privileged Westerners may come to use IV as a vehicle to transport them on the journey towards

transformation brings to light such unequal power structures. By that same token, through elements of Mezirow's theories that address transformational learning, a better understanding of how privileged Westerners may use IV as a vehicle to make them more aware of unequal power structures brings to light the relevance of IV in terms of transformation. Inasmuch as IV can be an injustice since it can be exploitative, it can also be used to bring about awareness of such exploitation, further illustrating the concept of the double-edged sword. In consideration of this, the recognition of IV as a player in an international system which advantages the West brings relevancy and urgency to the study of IV. Moreover, this recognition is key as it can point to the ways IV may need to be restructured using the theoretical contributions of Bourdieu and Mezirow to build a stronger infrastructure.

Studying IV is relevant on a number of fronts as demonstrated throughout the thesis. Given the increasing number of volunteers engaging in IV in some capacity each year, it is worthwhile to explore how they are making meaning of their personal experiences as more critical research in the field can help to explain the more nuanced ways IV is evolving.

From an experiential learning perspective, knowing how volunteers make meaning is relevant because of what we now know about their lived IV experiences and the potential for creating a deeper sense of awareness in participants about global in/justice. In terms of self-awareness, knowing how volunteers make meaning of IV and, in turn, relate it to an individual life lesson is critical because it demonstrates that IV can assist them in revealing a deeper awareness about their identities. Mezirow's (1978) ten phases of transformation are more detailed and specific guides towards the action steps individuals take to navigate the transformational process, and the emergent themes in this thesis fit into his framework.

From a sociological perspective, knowing about how volunteers make meaning of their experiences in terms of a greater awareness of larger sociological issues can shed light on their awareness of issues in West versus non-West relations. For example, recognizing the macro level forces such as colonialism, globalization, and neoliberalism before engaging in IV may help prepare a volunteer to approach IV more cautiously or with attention to sensitivity. This level of awareness may assist volunteers to move from seeing their IV experience as only a lifestyle choice, and instead, see it as an opportunity to engage further with larger issues. By that same token, if volunteers return to their home countries ‘patting themselves on the back’ for ‘making a difference,’ and perpetuate a savior complex, then future experiences may continue to impede their ability to engage in the level of reflection needed to explore or understand issues related to inequality or injustice and, subsequently, be challenged by those issues. In spite of the doubt over the neocolonial and neoliberal substrata of IV, it can be partially shown as an effective strategy for increasing awareness of global in/justices. As such, it may be helpful when understanding pathways to respectful international relations and its potential to inspire involvement and connect volunteers to social justice movements, like the Global Justice Movement.

In light of this potential, how international volunteers make meaning and what meaning they make is relevant to the ongoing debates about IV in critical sociological literature as well as educational literature because it can help gauge the ways volunteers may or may not experience transformation in the sense that they can use their position, privilege, or power to create change later. Although this thesis did not explore volunteers in this capacity, knowing this could assist universities or sending organizations that facilitate programs who want to have more strategically designed programs in the spirit of producing volunteers eager to engage in the discourse of change-making.

This thesis argues that IV contributes towards the personal transformation of volunteers' understanding of global in/justices given that volunteers reach a level of awareness that can usher in such a transformation. I base this claim on my theoretical analysis of the four themes, which demonstrates that IV can assist to move volunteers from a place of open-mindedness, through confusion, and into a place of deeper awareness (both global and self-awareness). On a macro level, this thesis contributes towards a better understanding of the evolution and diversification of IV which reflects a shift that fits within a neoliberal ideology at the intersection of tourism and service.

Given that this thesis focused on the personal transformation of three sample groups of volunteers, this thesis contributes to a better understanding of individual behavior because it demonstrates that IV can be an effective tool for unpacking and challenging the habitus. For example, a volunteer may become aware of how they perpetuated an injustice unwittingly through the purchase of clothing manufactured unethically, but likely cannot make any real or substantiated change on a structural level (e.g. to relieve workers in a sweatshop). However, a new awareness of their potential contribution towards injustice may inspire them to reflect on their embodied or unconscious ways of consumption and may inspire the volunteer to become less part of the problem by no longer purchasing items of clothing manufactured unethically. What is key, however, is that through the fostering of an awareness of global in/justice, volunteers become aware of the systemic structures that perpetuate inequality and injustice. In turn, they may identify with a sense of individual responsibility and address their responsibility to become part of the solution. In this light, part of a sense of responsibility is becoming more aware of how the decisions individuals make at home can impact the lives of others abroad, choosing to accept or reject a changed perspective (Mezirow, 1990).

Recall the aim of the thesis is concerned with the central question of how volunteers from developed societies make meaning (navigate, perceive, understand, and find significance) of global complexities related to global in/justice issues, and in the process of their meaning-making, how do they experience personal transformation? With this in mind, the answer to the thesis question is that through processes of desire, open-mindedness, confusion, and awareness, IV experiences can trigger critical reflection to foster a greater awareness of global in/justice, which can illuminate the identification and the recognition of a volunteer's habitus and privilege. In turn, this illumination can further reveal the ways in which they may be part of systems of both justice and injustice. In doing such, this thesis argues that IV programs should approach IV with an emphasis on a service-based social justice pedagogy with a focus on what is and what ought to be in IV. Reframing IV in this way can contribute to global justice by demonstrating what is currently lacking in IV programs, which arguably, is a strong social justice pedagogy including pre-trip and post-trip education, with a time of debriefing, and guided critical self-reflection.

Thesis Limitations

In consideration of the thesis argument, it is necessary to highlight the limitations. This thesis cannot provide an overview of all IV experiences due to many factors such as scope of study, money, time constraints, and limited access to the large number of international volunteers. Considering this, the limits are two-fold: practically and representationally. In regards to practical limitations, methodological approaches have specific limitations that are tied to the adoption of a particular methodological approach. Since a constructionist grounded theory approach was employed, the findings are grounded in my interpretation of the participants' lived experiences. In regards to representational limitations, the findings are specific to the participants

whom I interviewed in Tanzania and Christchurch, as well as the participants in the US from one university in California. It is unreasonable to apply these findings to every person who participates in IV, as the findings are not based on a representative sample, so generalizable, but the result of a purposeful sample to understand a social process. Further, the thesis approach cannot provide a statistically generalizable overview of IV experiences, but is designed to focus on the individual meaning-making of experientially informed individual interpretations. It does offer in-depth accounts of how IV volunteers came to interpret and understand their experiences of IV within a framework of personal transformation.

In terms of the limitations of using a grounded theory, this thesis was limited in that a less grounded approach or one that focused more on the habitus specifically from the very beginning might have yielded different and more specific results. The use of Bourdieu and Mezirow were particularly helpful, but collecting the data with Mezirow or Bourdieu fresh in my mind would likely have impacted the quality of questions asked in the interviews and the types of questions asked on the survey. In this respect, the research is limited by own knowledge and awareness of theoretical concepts which can assist me in the research process.

Suggestions and Strategies for Future International Volunteers

In light of the thesis limitations, this section discusses recommendations for volunteers and sending organizations, which could potentially be used to enhance the quality of IV programs. Any volunteer leaving his or her country for any duration needs some degree of preparation or training and, minimally, an in-depth orientation about the host community. This could include basic language skills including the history of the country and host community, which could be designed to unpack the social issues of that community so the volunteer better

understands the social environment where he or she will be staying. A basic understanding of the cultural differences and practices should also be learned prior to departure.

Since GSL programs are generally either tied to a university course curriculum or are attached to service-learning outcomes, most have included a component of preparation or training mentioned above. It is my understanding that not many voluntourism organizations provide any specific training ahead of time for volunteers nor offer a curriculum or any real preparation aside from a list of items to bring and general information about the host community. IV sending organizations could benefit from taking a more service-based approach to IV and by implementing some of the methods and training techniques of GSL programs at universities.

Operationally speaking, since many IV sending organizations recruit volunteers from more than just one geographic location, an organized meeting for the participants ahead of time may be unlikely. However, with the use of technology (such as Skype or Google Hangouts), volunteer coordinators could meet virtually with the other volunteers for introductions and a discussion about the host community, for example. In the case of sample group one in this thesis, the volunteers did not know each other ahead of time and only met the first time as they were boarding the plane in New York to Tanzania. Given that most IV experiences fall in the short-term range, for some IV groups, not knowing anyone else until it is time to depart can not only be intimidating to the volunteer, but potentially create problems concerning team dynamics, which did occur several times in sample group one.

Since sending organizations can vary in terms of operation, focus and types of volunteers, adherence to specific guidelines may not be feasible yet, although Wearing and McGehee (2013) suggest that more evaluation mechanisms may assist in determining key outcomes. In addition, Wearing and McGehee (2013) suggest that better processes for developing credentials are

beginning to emerge, and this can help to provide a standard for ethical operations going forward.

In terms of training provided to future volunteers, even the most in-depth training may not fully prepare volunteers for IV in an unfamiliar culture, although a fair amount of training ahead of time could help them manage their expectations, unpack their volunteer imagination, as well as address the implications of certain behavior abroad. Practical and relevant training may help dispel false romanticized notions that some have acquired in their volunteer imaginaries from books, films, advertising, and the media, to name a few examples. If a Western group of young adults goes to a country like Tanzania assuming that their two weeks will be scheduled perfectly and time will be used in the most efficient manner, then it means they have not received any training on how the socially constructed concept of time is viewed differently in Tanzania compared to West. In this sense, as discussed previously, some level of frustration and ‘healthy confusion’ may be needed to inspire reflection. This means that If IV or GSL programs are too neatly packaged without any room for disorienting dilemmas or a sense of confusion, then IV may simply be a fun experience as opposed to experiential learning.

In addition to all the small, strategic, or practical ways that IV programs can better prepare volunteers, a key element that deserves specific attention is a strong emphasis on a service-based social justice pedagogy. For example, many IV sending organizations could share best practices in pedagogies via an organization called Building Bridges Coalition, which is a consortium of organizations that promote international volunteering. Since it began in 2006, it has now over 500 members, many of whom are individuals, but several IV organizations are included. This pedagogy could contain specific and intentional learning outcomes designed in conjunction with the larger sociological issues so that the volunteer is mindfully aware of the

needs of the host community in addition to their needs. Ideally, the volunteer coordinator is someone who can aid in this pedagogy building and is well trained with the ability to navigate complex social situations.

Future Research & Reflections

While the data gathered in Tanzania for sample group one provided a rich narrative of volunteers' experiences, which contributed to the interpretive paradigm, future research should devote more time and attention to developing a research and methods design in an effort to cast a wider net of representation in light of the many opportunities to do so, specifically in Arusha. After spending three months in Arusha, Tanzania, (which houses a large number of NGOs and expatriates, most engaging in volunteer work in some capacity), I wish I could have had the opportunity to interview more participants across a wider range of organizations. In 2001, the Tanzanian government acknowledged the presence of 3000 foreign NGOs and other such social service related organizations operating in Tanzania. Subsequently, a legislative policy passed that same year that recognized the need to partner with NGOs and other such organizations in the spirit of their own development (Republic of Tanzania government website, retrieved 20 July 2016).

In addition to seeking a wider base of volunteers in a wider variety of organizations, I wished I had taken advantage of the opportunity of being in Tanzania for three months to interview members of the host community. Having spent time the year before (2009) with the same host community, I was warmly re-welcomed and this might have allowed for an opportunity to better engage the views of some members of the host community. Some volunteers or volunteer coordinators may never return to the same host community, meaning that the opportunity to develop a relationship over time with the host community could be difficult.

Additionally, I returned to this same host community in 2013, which allowed me to have many informal conversations about IV with specific members of the host community including the school headmaster, who has become a personal friend of mine.

In terms of future research, it would be helpful to better understand how the host communities perceive groups of Westerners arriving at their doorstep, many of whom are seeking a personal transformation experience. It is helpful to know not only if host communities genuinely desire or appreciate a Western presence via IV, but if host communities are also experiencing transformation in the way it may be promised to them. This could help inform work projects in general and promote more reciprocal relations. Future research concerning a wider range of transformational experiences with more participants who had returned from IV could also be explored. This could be helpful in order to better understand the more nuanced ways transformation may be perceived in volunteers. For instance, once volunteers return from IV, if given the option to identify with a specific transformational category (not necessarily the kinds of transformation this thesis recognizes) within a range, then perhaps more specific focus groups could be directed at obtaining specific knowledge into why they self-identified into this category. Another example could be to adopt Scheyven's continuum (harmful, egocentric, harmless, helpful, educational, and social action) and use it to inform future research to assess where specific IV programs are situated on her continuum based on the participant's perspective. This self-identification of how they perceived their experience could contribute to a more specific way of understanding their individualized meaning-making process.

Considering this need to further explore the ways in which transformation may be revealed, further research should consider following up with those participants to assess if a deeper level of awareness related to the social power structures or inequalities in a Bourdieusian

sense inspired them to participate in social or political action later. This thesis also recognizes and suggests that both sides of the debate around IV have strong points which are both compelling for and against IV, and yet need further exploration. For volunteers who arrive at a deeper sense of awareness of global in/justice, what they do with this awareness needs further exploration. For example, a future study could consider volunteers who identified specifically with a greater sense of awareness, and then follow up with them one year later to assess if their greater sense of awareness had made an impact on their daily life back home (i.e. by exploring their consumptive choices). Although it was more easily identifiable in sample group three that their awareness of their transformation had stuck with them, it is unclear if and in what ways their increased awareness about global in/justice continued to play an active role in their current lives. In this way, future studies then should consider interviewing participants about volunteering in their home communities in an effort to determine if and in what ways their IV experience played a role in motivating them to engage further or join a social movement.

Closing Thoughts

Volunteers who experience transformation of any level in a meaningful way may be inspired by their increased level of awareness to continue engaging in the process of critical reflection about global in/justice. On one hand, becoming aware of their habitus and privilege, for example, volunteers may make changes in their lives at home signaling that their personal transformational process may be ‘sustainable’ in some ways. Conversely, if their personal transformation does nothing other than make them feel better about themselves or positions them differently in their own social hierarchy, IV becomes an active part of the very mechanism it may claim to disrupt - injustice. While there are certainly small nuanced ways of making individual change in one’s life (i.e. shortened showers, purchase fair trade clothing), such

changes do not point to lasting change within the individual and further, do not point to sustainable or structural social change. While there are many possibilities to get involved in social movements or further engage with global social in/justice issues, these need to be further explored beyond this thesis. On a hopeful note, many recent studies, publications, and organizations have emerged in the last ten years illustrating the relevancy and urgency of exploring IV as an evolving and complex structure.

My hope is that through IV as a means to experience personal transformation, volunteers continue their engagement in reflexivity and critical thinking so that they continue to foster in themselves a greater awareness about global in/justice and how they may or may not contribute to both systems of injustice and justice. Is IV perfect? No. Can sending organizations alter their operations to create a more holistic and people-centric approach, which is more mindful of host communities? Yes. Can sending organizations better train and prepare volunteers? Yes. Can volunteers better prepare for IV experiences? Yes. There are still many imperfections in this evolving and complex structure and, while much is being explored, much more has yet to be explored, specifically in regards to developing a socially just journey towards transformation.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

- A. Participant consent form**
- B. Participant Information Sheet Group 1**
- C. Participant Information Sheet Group 2**
- D. Participant Information Sheet Group 3**
- E. Survey (administered online to group 3)**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

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DATE: *April 2010*

NAME OF PROJECT: *International Volunteering and Transformational Learning*

I have read and understand the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

I note that the project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print): _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

Participant Information Sheet Sample Group One

You are invited to participate in the research project:

International Volunteering and Transformational Learning

About Research:

The purpose of this study is to explore ways in which participating in international volunteering influence participants' personal transformation about global justice awareness.

Your involvement in this project will be:

Participation in 1-2 in-depth semi-structured individual interviews facilitated in person in Tanzania. Each personal interview will be digitally recorded and will last approximately 1 hour. The interviews will take place in a space no one may overhear your answers. There will be no more than 2 personal interviews in total in case 1 interview is not enough time or there are interruptions. Through the interviews, you will be asked questions on topics related to:

1. General reasons for participation in IV – what motivated you?
2. Attitude change as a result of experience in IV – what did you learn overall/did you change?
3. Awareness of issues such as poverty and global injustices – what was difficult to see?
4. Attitudes toward cultural understanding – what did you learn about the host community?
5. General understanding of development/aid – what is your impression of the work being done?

As the data are transcribed and analyzed, you will have the opportunity to verify the information you have provided and comment on how I have interpreted the data. You also have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. You will also be offered a summary of the results. The results of the research may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality as well as anonymity of data gathered in this investigation: your identity as a participant will not be made public without your consent.

This research will not have an effect on your status and/or standing with the organization. In the event that you disclose to me information about the organization, I will ensure confidentiality and that nothing you say negatively about the organization will affect your status as the results will not be provided to the organization until well after your contract has finished. In the event that you want none of the information you provide at all published to the organization, another document will be drafted requiring your signature.

During the transcription and analysis of data, all information will be securely stored on a personal computer with password protection, and will be stored in a lockable drawer when it is not on me.

This research is being used for a Ph.D. degree at the University of Canterbury by Arthur L. Atkinson, under the supervision of Dr. Nabila Jaber and Dr. Ruth McManus, who can be contacted at:

Arthur L. Atkinson: 022.601.5533 or ArthurLA711@gmail.com

Nabila Jaber: nabila.jaber@canterbury.ac.nz/

Ruth McManus: ruth.mcmanus@canterbury.ac.nz

We are pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project. The project has been reviewed *and approved* by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Participant Information Sheet Sample Group #2

You are invited to participate in the research project:

International Volunteering and Transformational Learning

About Research:

The purpose of this study is to explore ways in which participating in international volunteering influence participants' personal transformation about global justice awareness.

Your involvement in this project will be:

Participation in an online survey with questions on topics related to:

1. General reasons for participation in IV – what motivated you?
2. Attitude change as a result of experience in IV – what did you learn overall/did you change?
3. Awareness of issues such as poverty and global injustices – what was difficult to see?
4. Attitudes toward cultural understanding – what did you learn about the host community?
5. General understanding of development/aid – what is your impression of the work being done?

Your participation is purely volunteer and completely anonymous as your names will not be gathered. No information will be able to be traced back to you. You may withdraw your participation including withdrawal of any information you have provided, until your questionnaire has been added to the others selected. The results of the project may be published

This research is being used for a Ph.D. degree at the University of Canterbury by Arthur L. Atkinson, under the supervision of Dr. Nabila Jaber and Dr. Ruth McManus, who can be contacted at:

Arthur L. Atkinson: 022.601.5533 or ArthurLA711@gmail.com

Nabila Jaber: nabila.jaber@canterbury.ac.nz

Ruth McManus: ruth.mcmanus@canterbury.ac.nz

We will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed *and approved* by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Participant Information Sheet Sample Group One

You are invited to participate in the research project:

International Volunteering and Transformational Learning

About Research:

The purpose of this study is to explore ways in which participating in international volunteering influence participants' personal transformation about global justice awareness.

Your involvement in this project will be:

Participation in 1-2 in-depth semi-structured individual interviews facilitated in person at a time previously arranged. Each personal interview will be digitally recorded and will last approximately 1 hour. The interviews will take place in a space no one may overhear your answers. There will be no more than 2 personal interviews in total in case 1 interview is not enough time or there are interruptions. Through the interviews, you will be asked questions on topics related to:

1. General reasons for participation in IV – what motivated you?
2. Attitude change as a result of experience in IV – what did you learn overall/did you change?
3. Awareness of issues such as poverty and global injustices – what was difficult to see?
4. Attitudes toward cultural understanding – what did you learn about the host community?
5. General understanding of development/aid – what is your impression of the work being done?

As the data are transcribed and analyzed, you will have the opportunity to verify the information you have provided and comment on how I have interpreted the data. You also have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided. You will also be offered a summary of the results. The results of the research may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality as well as anonymity of data gathered in this investigation: your identity as a participant will not be made public without your consent.

This research will not have an effect on your status and/or standing with the organization. In the event that you disclose to me information about the organization, I will ensure confidentiality and that nothing you say negatively about the organization will affect your status as the results will not be provided to the organization until well after your contract has finished. In the event that you want none of the information you provide at all published to the organization, another document will be drafted requiring your signature.

During the transcription and analysis of data, all information will be securely stored on a personal computer with password protection, and will be stored in a lockable drawer when it is not on me.

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ONLINE SURVEY (Sample Group #2)
Distributed Via Survey Monkey

General Information:

Age: _____
 Sex: _____
 Religion: _____
 Ethnicity: _____
 Country Visited: _____

The primary reason(s) for participating in this IV experience was for (please mark all that apply):

_____ Personal growth and development (better understand/challenge myself)
 _____ To help others
 _____ To travel/learn about a new place
 _____ Evangelism
 _____ To acquire language skills or other related skills
 _____ Because I was instructed/required to do so
 Other: _____

General attitudes/Basic info (inward self-reflections) towards international volunteering/service:

1. I was encouraged and/or supported by my family to volunteer/serve overseas

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

2. When you were volunteering overseas, were your beliefs or ideas about service stretched or challenged? If so, how? _____

3. Volunteering in general is an important priority in my life

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

4. I understand the mission of Focus International at Azusa Pacific University

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

5. When I was volunteering/serving overseas, some of the main things I learned about myself were:

6. While volunteering/serving overseas, did you gain a sense of how the local people perceived you? If so, what did you learn?

Attitudes (outward self-reflections) towards development/aid work/global and social justice:

7. When I think about volunteering overseas, I think of helping poor people that are in need

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why do you feel this way?

8. When I think about the work that is being done and/or needs to be done in developing nations, I feel a desire to participate in some capacity

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why? _____

9. I understand the reasons/causes of conflict in some developing nations

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

10. When I'm at home and hear stories or see news about displaced people due to war, genocide, or famine, some of the main thoughts/feelings that come to mind are...

11. Because of my service trip, I felt my understanding of the idea of oppression had increased

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

What did or did not influence this?

12. When I hear about injustices, specifically in other nations, I feel sorry, but am unsure of what to do about it

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why do you feel this way?

13. If necessary, richer countries should be willing to reduce consumption and waste to cooperate with other countries in getting an equal standard for every person in the world.

- ☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why do you feel this way?

14. The present distribution of the world's wealth and resources should be maintained because it promotes the survival of the fittest

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

15. When I think about how much my country consumes and or wastes in comparison to the country I visited, some of my main thoughts are _____.

16. Why do you feel this way? _____.

17. When I hear news about people in other countries that have died or are suffering because of hunger, thirst, disease, or some other ailment, I assume it is because

☐ Lack of Government Funding ☐ Corrupt Policy ☐ Other Countries Involvement ☐ Personal Choices ☐ Poor Work Ethic

Other: _____

18. When I hear about those in other countries who are suffering from any number of issues, I am disappointed in my country's abundance of wealth and things I take for granted such as clean drinking water

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

19. When I volunteered/served overseas, I felt somewhat ashamed to have obtained the privileges and things I can call my own

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

20. What do you think about those developing nations that are poor and what should be done to help them if anything? _____

Attitudes towards cultural awareness/diversity:

21. As a result of my experience serving overseas, I have a different perspective of the country I visited

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

22. As a result of my experience serving overseas, I have a newfound respect for the people of the country I visited

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

23. As a result of my experience serving overseas, I have a difficult time understanding how and why the people of that country live the way they live

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

24. As a result of my experience serving overseas, I feel rich compared to the people of the country I visited.

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

25. When I was overseas and being exposed to a new and different culture, I felt: _____

26. I do not see cultural differences as important to my daily life

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

27. It would be better to be a citizen of the world than of any particular country.

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

28. It would be dangerous for our country to make international agreements with nations whose religious beliefs are antagonistic to ours

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

29. International experiences/exposure to other cultures is something I value

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Attitudes towards role of responsibility to help/serve/volunteer:

30. When I hear stories or see news about catastrophic events overseas, I think I have a responsibility to try and do something about it

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why do you feel this way? _____

31. I perceive myself as someone who works for the rights of others

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Because: _____

32. I see myself as a global citizen

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why? _____

33. I consciously make an effort so that my actions make a difference in others' lives

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

34. I believe my country has a moral obligation to share its wealth with the less fortunate people of the world

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why? _____

35. I believe I have a moral obligation to give of my time to serve others less fortunate than myself

☐ Strongly Agree
 ☐ Agree
 ☐ Neutral
 ☐ Disagree
 ☐ Strongly Disagree

Why? _____

36. While volunteering/serving overseas, some of the main things I learned about what international volunteering/service means were: _____

37. While volunteering/serving overseas, I had a strong desire to return to my home country and volunteer there

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Did your experience overseas impact this decision? If so, in what ways? _____

38. I will volunteer in my home country much more as a result of participating in this international volunteering/service experience

☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neutral ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

Any other comments about your experience you'd like to share that is related to International Volunteering and Service: _____